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TRIAL  
OF  
LEWIS XVI.

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PRICE TWO SHILLINGS.

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*J. Archer Sc.*

**LEWIS XVI.**

*Late King of France*

*Edinburgh Published by J. Elder, T. Brown, Laurie & Symington, and C. Elliott.*

51/65

THE  
ACCUSATION, TRIAL, DEFENCE,  
SENTENCE,  
EXECUTION, AND LAST WILL,

OF  
LEWIS XVI. *Louis XVI*

LATE KING OF FRANCE AND NAVARRE;

GIVING

An Account of his magnanimous behaviour from the decree of the National Convention to bring him to Trial as a traitor, to his last affectionate interview with his unfortunate family, on the 21st day of January 1793, the day he was beheaded.

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TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

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WITH  
A PORTRAIT OF LEWIS,  
AND A  
VIEW AND DESCRIPTION OF THE GUILLOTINE  
ON WHICH HE SUFFERED.

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EDINBURGH:

Printed for J. Elder, T. Brown, Lawrie & Symington,  
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1793.



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REVENUE

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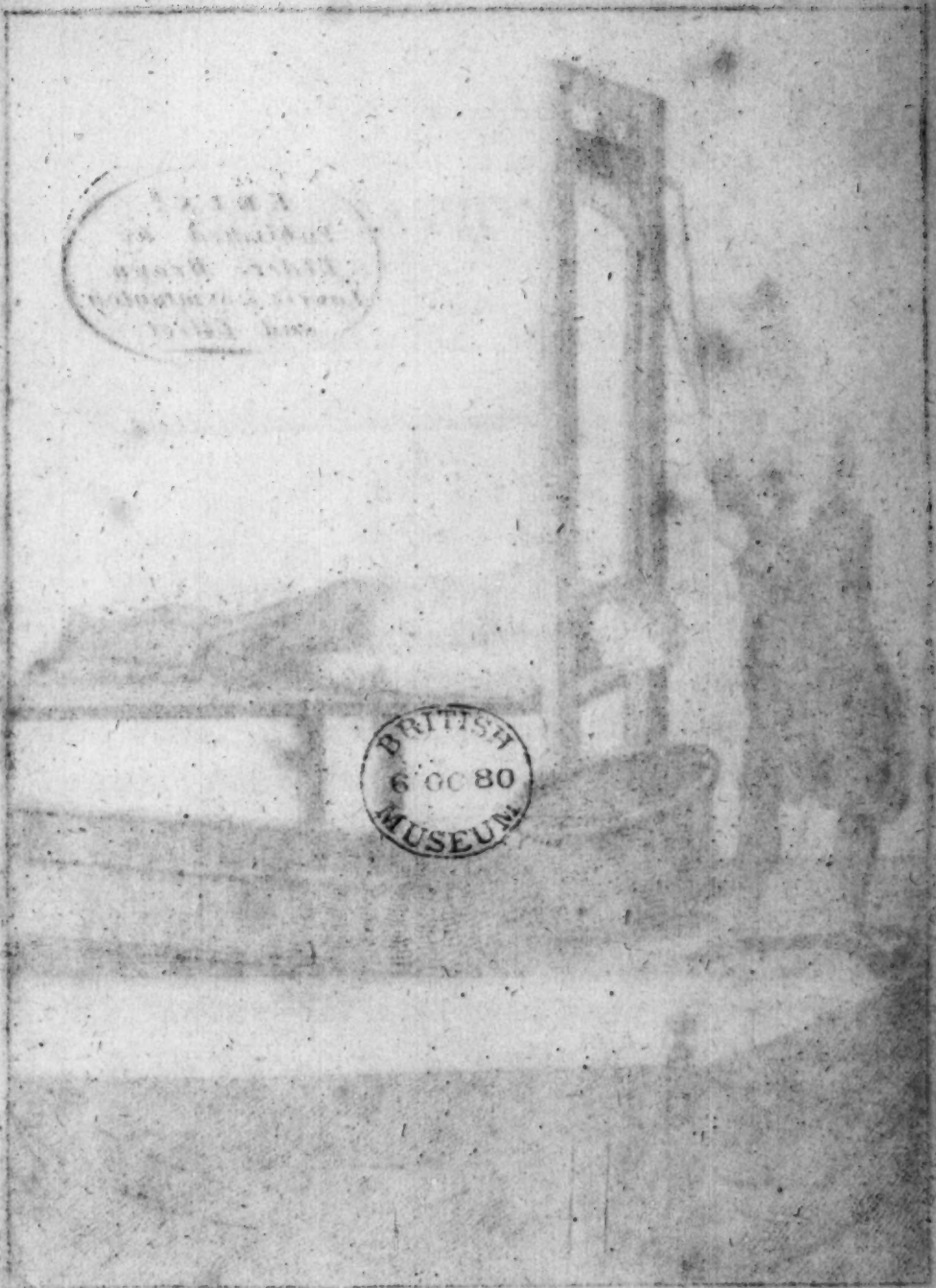
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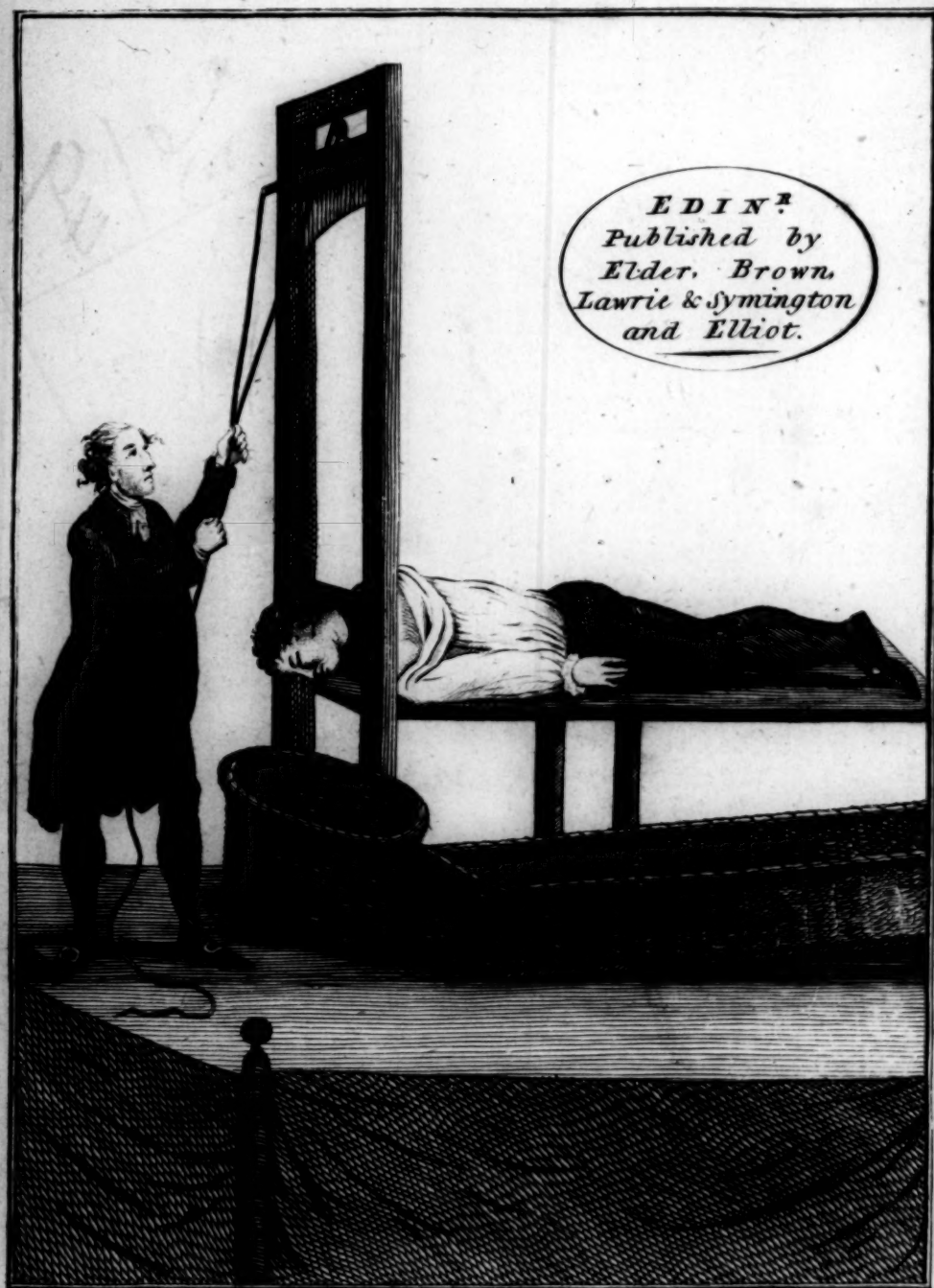
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The **GUILLOTINE**,  
*or Machine on which the King suffered at Paris.*



THE

## ACCUSATION, &c.

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THE Charges, Trial, Sentence, and Execution of the late unfortunate Lewis XVI. with other events lately and daily taking place in France, are events of infinite moment, for the experience and contemplation of mankind in general, and the inhabitants of Great Britain in particular. The following Narrative has been drawn up from the most authentic sources of information, and has for a recommendation its being untainted with any political prejudice,

As there are a few circumstances immediately connected with, and introductory of, the trial here proper to be stated, these shall first be mentioned.

The first is, That the Convention having determined that Lewis should be brought to their  
6<sup>th</sup> A tribunal,

tribunal, a committee was appointed, from their own body, several weeks previous to the commencement of the trial, to ransack the Thuilleries for papers of crimination, and to collect evidence through every channel possible whereon to found accusations against the fallen monarch.

The next circumstance, which is of equal public notoriety, was the order of the Municipal Council, after the Convention had decreed that Lewis should stand in judgment at their bar,—that the prisoners at the Temple should be deprived of every edged and sharp instrument. This order, which was most minutely and strictly executed, treated Lewis and his family as the most heinous of criminals, and carried with it a strong presumption that something momentous was in contemplation. Indeed the following expression, declared in many public places, justified the worst conjectures, (for none dared to defend with impunity this ill-fated monarch), “ That the execution of Lewis on a scaffold would be too glorious a sight to be baffled by his stealing out of life through the aid of ‘ *bair bodkin* !”

Lewis, thus preserved for a public exhibition, received the first signal of the awful scene that awaited him on the morning of the 11th December. He was alarmed about eight o'clock by an unusual beat of a drum and trampling of horses,

es,

es, in the court of the Temple. Ignorant, at the moment, of the real cause of the sounds he heard, and which, according to the report to the Committee of the municipal officer whose duty it was that morning to attend him, seemed to impress him and his family with considerable personal apprehensions; it was hence evident with what secrecy the Convention had kept from Lewis, not only every knowledge of the Articles of Accusation which their Committee had for several weeks been accumulating against him, but also the very day and hour when he was to be brought up and arraigned on the charges his joint accusers and judges had framed.

This stratagem of embarrassing Lewis proved, however, abortive, as will be found from the aptness of his replies, collected manner, and dignity of address, on this truly momentous occasion.

The alarms above expressed by him were not a little increased from the municipal officer's information, that the cause would be explained by the Mayor of Paris, who was arrived for the purpose; but that such information could not be communicated to him in the presence of any of his family, not even in that of his young son. The separation operated with a force on the mind of Lewis as it left him little doubt, but that he was either about to suffer instant assassination,



tion, or to be led, for the greater formality, to yield his life on a scaffold, The introduction of the Mayor immediately dissipated those apprehensions; and the announcement of the decree to bring him that day to the bar of the Convention, however unprepared to answer charges of accusation, being a lesser evil than the belief of immediate death, operated as a ray of comfort.

On this great occasion, every precaution was taken to prevent the possibility of commotion. By half after eight, above 100,000 men were under arms in the different districts of the metropolis. The garden of the Thuilleries, the Place de Caroufal, and the Place de Vendome, were all filled with troops—and the prisons, magazines, &c. were strongly guarded.

About one, in the afternoon, Lewis left the Temple, escorted by large bodies of horse and foot, under the command of Santerre. The Mayor, and two members of the Convention, accompanied him in the carriage, around which upwards of thirty municipal officers attended.

The announcement of his arrival at the door of the Convention being made, the hall, which was before exceedingly tumultuous, was distinguished by an awful stillness—the members were all seated, the tribunes observed the most perfect silence, and the scene became highly grand and impressive.

It was immediately decreed that Lewis should be brought to the bar; in the interval of which Barrere the President made a short speech, in which he recommended to the members of the Assembly, and the citizens in the Tribunes, a strict preservation of that decorum and dignity which on so momentous an occasion became the majesty of the people.

Lewis now entered the bar, accompanied by the Mayor, Commandant General and Etat Major of the Parisian Guard, and presented to the astonished eyes of the inhabitants of Paris the novel and awful spectacle of a monarch appearing, in a state of accusation, before a tribunal composed of his own subjects.—He appeared perfectly composed, with a dignity of mien rather suited to a sense of his former consequence than his present situation, and with a countenance somewhat more healthy than might have been expected. He looked round him with an air of surprise, yet without expressing any strong emotion; and seemed, for a short interval, to have his eye arrested by the standards captured from the enemy, which were fixed as decorations on the ceiling of the hall.

He having taken his seat at the bar, (the President previously informing him he might do so), Barrere addressed his late Sovereign, in the midst of profound silence, in the following terms :

“ LEWIS,

“ LEWIS, The people of France accuse you—  
 “ the National Convention has decreed that you  
 “ shall be tried, and that its members shall be  
 “ your judges—you will now hear the declara-  
 “ tion of the crimes imputed to you—and you  
 “ are to answer to such questions as shall be pro-  
 “ posed.”

To this Address the King made no reply.—  
 The declaration of each charge was now made  
 by the Secretary Malhie, and the interrogatory  
 put on every separate article by the President.

For a clear and more facile conception of this  
 body of crimination, the following arrangement  
 exhibits the complete substance of every charge  
 against the unfortunate Lewis, with his respec-  
 tive answers. And, for still greater perspi-  
 cuity, and to avoid the confused prolixity of  
 both President and Secretary addressing the ci-  
 devant monarch, the President only shall be the  
 oracle of the crimes alledged.

*President.* You are accused of interrupting,  
 on the 20th of June, 1789, the sitting of the  
 Constituent Assembly, by suspending the mem-  
 bers from their functions, and violently driving  
 them from their place of convention.

*Lewis.* There existed at that time no law  
 which forbade such a use of power.

*Pres,*



*Pref.* On the 20th of June 1789, you surrounded the sitting of the Constituent Assembly with troops, then repaired thither to dictate laws to the nation, by presenting to the Assembly two royal declarations subversive of liberty, and by arbitrarily commanding the members to separate.

*Lewis.* I acted according to the right with which I was then invested.

*Pref.* In July 1789, you ordered the regiment of Flanders to march to Versailles, with a considerable body of other troops, by which measure the lives of several of the citizens were lost; which army you did not remove till the Bastille was taken, and a general insurrection had ensued.

*Lewis.* At that period I possessed the right of marching the troops where I deemed necessary to require—but I had no design, wish, or intention of shedding blood.

*Pref.* After this event you persevered in your plans against the national liberty, by delaying to sanction the Rights of Man, and the Decrees for abolishing personal servitude, feudal rights and tithes.

*Lewis.* I acted in these instances according as prudence and justice appeared to me to demand.

*Pref.* At the festival at Versailles you excited your guards, while the origies were celebrated  
in

in your sight, to insult the nation, by allowing the national cockade to be trampled under foot, and did yourself wear the white cockade.

*Lewis.* What passed at the festival was unknown to me, but by relation afterwards—and the charges respecting the cockade are false.

*Pref.* At the fœderation of the 14th July 1790, you took an oath, which you afterwards violated, by endeavouring to corrupt the public mind, through the agency of Talon in Paris, and of Mirabeau, (who was to publish a memorial against the Revolution), in the provinces.

*Lewis.* It is impossible for me to call accurately to my remembrance what passed at that distance of time; but be it what it may, it was previous to my acceptance of the constitution.

*Pref.* To further this corruption of the public you distributed, at that interval, large sums of money among the populace, whilst riding through the Fauxbourg St Antoine, for the insidious ends of gaining popularity, and enslaving the people.

[Here the unfortunate Monarch, for the first and only time, appeared strongly affected—the tears of sensibility stole down his check—he wiped them away, and gave the following dignified answer:]

*Lewis.* To give assistance to those who appeared to be in want ever afforded me heartfelt  
satisfac-

satisfaction. I had no view but their relief in so doing, and no insidious object.

*Pref.* Still more to further your plans against public liberty, you meditated an escape, by proposing to go, as on the 28th of July 1790, from Versailles to St Cloud.

*Lewis.* This charge is absurd on the very face of it.

*Pref.* A plan of counter-revolution was presented you in the month of February 1791.— You then assembled a number of nobility to favour your escape, and while you amused the representatives of the people by your declarations to foreign powers, you were meditating that flight which you afterwards effected on the 21st of June following, and in which Bouille was ordered by you to assist with an armed force.

*Lewis.* I have no recollection of the contents of the memorial alledged to have been presented me in February. As to my journey to Varennes, I refer to the answers I at that time made to the Commissioners appointed by the Constituent Assembly.

(As the following declarations of the King and Queen are immediately connected with the present examination, it has been thought proper to introduce them.)

B

DECLA-



## DECLARATION OF THE KING

*To the Commissioners appointed by the Constituent Assembly to examine him respecting his Escape.*

“ I think it necessary, respecting the mission with which you are charged, to observe to you, that I do not understand *submitting* to interrogatories; but I will willingly, since the National Assembly requires it, make public the motives which induced me to quit Paris:—They were the threats and the outrages committed against my family and myself, and which have been circulated in different publications; and all these insults have remained unpunished. I thence thought that it was neither safe nor proper for me to remain any longer in Paris; but, in quitting the capital, I never had an intention of going out of the kingdom. I never made, on this subject, any agreement, either with the neighbouring powers, with my family, or with the French malecontents in foreign countries. My plan was, to retire to Montmedi, for which purpose I had previously ordered apartments to be provided for me there. As that town is well fortified, I thought I could not choose a better place for the safety of my family. Being near the frontiers, I should have been at hand to oppose every invasion of France which might be attempted.

attempted. I should besides have been able to go, with more facility, to those places where my presence might be necessary. Another powerful motive of my retreat was, to put an end to the assertion of my not being at liberty. If my intention had been to go into a foreign country, I should not have published my memorial before my departure—I would have done it after I passed the frontiers. Besides, should a knowledge of our intentions be desired in *that* particular, let the same memorial be consulted; at the end of which will be seen with how much pleasure I promise to the Parisians to join them again. As a further corroboration of this, I had in my carriage only 13,200 livres in gold, and 560,000 in assignats. I declare solemnly that I was not advised to this step by any one, and that I alone projected and executed it. I informed Monsieur of it only on the evening of my departure; and it was agreed between us that we should not pursue the same route. I gave orders to the three persons who were found with me to follow me; the same evening one of them received my orders. The passport which I had with me was necessary to facilitate my journey, and the route for Frankfort was not even kept. I have made no other protestation than the memorial which I left behind me, and which has been published, in which there is no attack against the principles  
of

of the Constitution, but only against the form—  
 The decrees not having been passed together, I  
 could not so well judge of their propriety. I ex-  
 perience in my journey that the public opinion  
 was decidedly in favour of the Constitution. I  
 did not believe that I could with a certainty  
 come at a knowledge of this fact at Paris. Con-  
 vinced how much it was necessary to give force  
 to the established powers, as soon as I knew the  
 general will, I did not hesitate to make those sa-  
 crifices, which the welfare of the people, always  
 the object of my wishes, required of me.

(Signed) LEWIS."

#### DECLARATION OF THE QUEEN.

" I declare, that the King being desirous of  
 quitting Paris with his children, nothing in na-  
 ture could have dissuaded me from following  
 him ; for, that I never will consent to quit him,  
 my whole conduct for these two years past has  
 given sufficient proofs. I was confirmed in my  
 determination to follow him, from the confi-  
 dence and persuasion which I had, that he  
 would never quit the kingdom. Had he been  
 so inclined, all my influence would have been  
 exerted to prevent him. The governess of my  
 daughter, who had been indisposed for five  
 weeks, did not receive orders for departure till  
 the



the evening preceding. She had not even taken any cloaths with her—I was obliged to lend her some—She was absolutely ignorant of her destination. The three couriers neither knew the destination nor the object of the journey—they were supplied from time to time with money upon the road, and received our orders as we proceeded. The two femmes de chambre did not receive orders till the moment of our departure—one of them, whose husband was in the palace, had not an opportunity of seeing him. Monsieur and Madame separated from us, and took the road to Mons, only to avoid embarrassment, and to prevent delay from the want of horses upon the road—they were to join us in France. We went out of the palace by passing through the apartment of M. Villequier; and, that we might not be perceived, we went separately, and at some distance of time from each other.

(Signed) MARIE ANTONIETTE."

We will now pursue the charges.

*Pres.* You afterwards conspired with La Fayette and Mirabeau, for the purpose of overturning the Constitution, in consequence of which several citizens lives were lost on the 17th of July, in the Champ de Mars.

*Lewis.*

*Lewis.* I have no knowledge of any such conspiracy, and what happened on the 17th of July cannot possibly regard me.

*Pres.* You paid large sums about the same interval, for libels, pamphlets, and journals, written with a design to pervert the public opinion, to discredit the assignats, and support the cause of the emigrants.

*Lewis.* I have no knowledge of any such circumstances.

*Pres.* You affected to accept the Constitution on the 14th of September 1791—Your speech pronounced that you meant to maintain it; yet you laboured its overthrow before it was completed.

*Lewis.* No specification is made how I attempted to overturn the Constitution I had accepted—I cannot answer a nullity.

*Pres.* Though a Convention took place at Pilnitz, on the 24th of July, between Leopold of Austria and Frederic-William of Brandenburg, for the express purpose of re-establishing in France the throne of absolute monarchy, you concealed it from the National Assembly till it was known to all Europe.

*Lewis.* I acquainted the Legislative Body with that event the instant that I was apprised of it; though all affairs, respecting the Constitution, more immediately concerned my Ministers.

*Pres.*

*Pres.* Arles raised the standard of Revolt; you favoured it by sending Commissioners, not to check, but to encourage the attempts, by justifying them.

*Lewis.* The Commissioners instructions will sufficiently evince the nature of the orders with which they were entrusted, and I knew none of the Commissioners when the Ministers proposed them to me.

*Pres.* Avignon and Comptat Venasfin had been re-united to France; but you did not execute the decree 'till a month after; and during that delay, a civil war desolated the country, and the Commissioners you sent completed the devastation.

*Lewis.* I do not recollect what delay attended the execution of the decree—but the charge cannot affect me personally—they who were sent, and those who sent them, are alone responsible.

*Pres.* Nimes, Montaban, Mendes, and Jales, had experienced violent commotions in the commencement of liberty—You did nothing to check these seeds of Counter-revolution 'till the moment when the conspiracy of Saillant broke out.

*Lewis.* I gave only those orders which were proposed to me by my Ministers.

*Pres.*



*Pref.* You sent two battalions against the Marseillaise, who were marching to reduce the Counter-revolutionists of Arles.

*Lewis.* I must have the proper papers before I can answer this charge.

*Pref.* You gave the command of the south to Wiginsthein, who wrote to you, on the 21st of April, after he had been recalled, in these terms, "a few moments more, and I will rally round your Majesty's throne millions of Frenchmen, become once more worthy of the wishes which you form for their happiness.

*Lewis.* This letter, even by the statement of the charge, is posterior to his recal; but I remember no such letter, and Wiginsthein has not been employed since his recal.

*Pref.* You paid your ci-devant body guards at Coblenz, in 1791 and 1792, and remitted considerable sums to Bouille, La Vaguyon, Choiseul, Beapre D'Hamilton, and the woman Polignac.

*Lewis.* The moment that I received intelligence that my former body guards had assembled in the neighbourhood of the Rhine, I ordered their pay to be stopped. I remember nothing respecting the rest.

*Pref.* Your brothers, enemies to the state, rallied emigrants round their standards; they raised regiments; made loans and contracted alliances in your name; you did not disavow them

them till the moment when you was very certain you could not injure their plans. Your correspondence with them is proved by a note in the hand-writing of Lewis-Stanislas-Xavier, signed by both your brothers, as follows :

“ I have written to you, but it was by post, and I could say nothing. We are here two who make only one : the same sentiments, the same principles, the same ardour to serve you. We observe silence ; by breaking it too soon, we should expose ourselves ; but we shall speak out when we are sure of general support, and that moment is near. If they speak to us on the part of those people we will not listen. If it is on your's we will listen ; but we will go straight on our way. If they wish, therefore, that you should make us do something, be under no restraint. Be easy respecting your safety, we exist only to serve you ; we will exert ourselves for that purpose with ardour, and every thing will go well. Even our enemies have too much interest in your preservation to commit an useless crime, which would complete their ruin. Adieu !

L. S. XAVIER,  
CHARLES PHILLIPPE.”

C

*Lewis.*

*Lewis.* I disavowed all the proceedings of my brothers, according to the injunctions of the Constitution, the moment that I had any knowledge of them. Of the one stated I have no knowledge whatever.

*Pres.* You neglected to raise the army to the usual war establishment, and opposed the levying 20,000, as decreed by the Legislative Assembly.

*Lewis.* I gave positive orders to the ministers to augment the army to the war-establishment, likewise ordered a list to be laid before the Assembly. If my ministers either were deceived, or deceived themselves, I am not to blame.

*Pres.* You gave orders to the commanders of the troops to disorganize the armies, to excite whole regiments to desert, and to pass the Rhine, in order that they might join your brothers and Leopold of Austria. This fact is proved by a letter from Toulangeon.

*Lewis.* There is not a word of truth in this accusation.

*Pres.* You charged your brothers and other agents to strengthen the peace between Turkey and Austria, that the latter, by withdrawing her troops from the Turkish frontier, might be enabled to direct a greater force against France, as is proved by a letter from M. Choiseul Gouffier, Ambassador at Constantinople.

*Lewis.* M. Gouffier has not spoken the truth—No such measure ever existed.

*Pres.*



*Pres.* You did not inform the Legislative Body of the hostile intentions of Prussia 'till the 10th of July 1792, when you announced that 50,000 of her troops were marching against France.

*Lewis.* I had no knowledge of the fact before that period. All the diplomatic correspondence passed through the channel of the Ministers.

*Pres.* You placed Dabancourt, the nephew of Calonne, at the head of the war department—and by ordering the frontier towns to be dismantled, Longwy and Verdun were immediately delivered up to the enemy.

*Lewis.* I was ignorant that Dabancourt was the Nephew of Calonne—It was not I who left those places in a defenceless state—If such was their situation, I knew nothing of it.

*Pres.* You have destroyed the navy, by continually suffering Bertrand to give so many passports, as not to leave sufficient officers for port-duty—and when the Legislative Body represented to you, on the 8th of March, his culpable conduct, you did not dismiss him.

*Lewis.* I endeavoured to retain the officers by every measure in my power ; and as the Assembly produced no specific charge against Bertrand, that appeared to me of a criminal nature, I did not deem it just to dismiss him.

*Pres.* You sent agents to the Colonies to effect a Counter-revolution there, at the same time it was not to have taken place at home.

*Lewis.*

*Lewis.* If any persons have said they were my agents in the Colonies, they have not spoken the truth—I had no share whatever in what you now state.

*Pref.* The interior parts of the country were agitated by fanatics—you declared yourself their protector, by manifesting an evident intention of recovering through them your former power.

*Lewis.* The charge merits no answer—I had neither intention nor knowledge of any such project.

*Pref.* The Legislative Body passed a decree against refractory priests, but you suspended the execution of it by your VETO.

*Lewis.* The Constitution invested me with free and full powers to reject or sanction decrees.

*Pref.* The fermentation increased, and the Minister declared, that he knew no existing laws by which the guilty could be punished. The Legislative Body passed a new decree, and you suspended the execution of that also.

*Lewis.* The same reply.

*Pref.* You continued the pay of your guards after they had been disbanded for their incivism—and wrote moreover a letter of thanks to them.

*Lewis.* I continued their pay only until they should form a new establishment, according as  
the

the decree required. Their former services merited a letter of thanks.

*Pref.* You retained your Swiss guards about your person, in express contradiction to the Constitution.

*Lewis.* I fulfilled every decree on that subject.

*Pref.* You authorised Gilles and D'Angremont secretly to maintain private companies in Paris, for the purpose of exciting commotions favourable to your plans of a Counter-revolution. The receipts of Gilles, who was ordered to organise a company of sixty men, will be presented to you.

*Lewis.* I am utterly ignorant of these schemes attributed to me and those men. An idea of a Counter-revolution never entered my head.

*Pref.* You endeavoured, by considerable sums, to bribe several Members of the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies, who presented you with plans for a Counter-revolution.

*Lewis.* Many persons presented me with such plans, but I uniformly rejected them all.

*Pref.* Who were the persons that presented such plans?

*Lewis.* The plans themselves were so absurd and vague, that I do not at this time recollect.

*Pref.* To whom did you promise or give money for such plans?

*Lewis.* No one,

*Pref.*



*Pres.* By neglecting to require reparation for insults offered to French Patriots in several Courts of Europe, particularly Germany, Italy, and Spain, you have suffered a degradation of the national character.

*Lewis.* The diplomatic correspondence will shew the reverse—besides that business, more immediately concerned the Ministers.

*Pres.* On the 10th of August last, you reviewed, at five o'clock in the morning, the Swiss guards from your palace.

*Lewis.* I that day reviewed all the troops that were assembled near me—the Mayor, the Municipality—and all the Constituent authorities were with me—I had even requested a deputation might be sent me from the National Assembly, that I might concert with them the necessary measures—and I afterwards repaired to the Assembly with my family.

*Pres.* Why did you assemble so large a body of troops at the palace?

*Lewis.* All the constituent authorities knew that the palace was threatened—and as I was one of the constituted authorities, I had a right to defend myself.

*Pres.* Why did you cause the blood of the French to be spilled.

*Lewis.* Sir, it was not my act.

*Pres.*

*Pres.* Why did you authorise Septeuil to monopolise sugar, grain, and other articles at Hamburgh?

*Lewis.* I have no knowledge in such circumstances.

*Pres.* Why did you put a Veto on the decree ordering a camp of 20,000 men to be formed round Paris?

*Lewis.* The Constitution gave me full powers to sanction decrees or not—and even at that time I ordered a camp to be at Soissons.

*Pres.* As I have no more questions to propose to you, have you any thing further to add to your defence?

*Lewis.* I request to see the papers on which the accusations against me are founded—and that I may be allowed the right of nominating Council to conduct my cause.

The President informed Lewis, that by a decree of the Convention he was entitled to have the papers communicated to him. The papers were accordingly handed him for inspection—of far the greater part of which he positively disclaimed *all* knowledge.

When asked, respecting the letter to La Fayette, in which he requests that General to act with Mirabeau, for some cause, not explained, he said—“ This appears to be my hand-writing  
—but

—but the project alluded to was certainly not that of a counter-revolution—and, at all events, there can no be *criminality* in a letter that was *never sent*.

After all the papers, then ready, had been shewn to him, he was informed that he might retire, with his attendants, into another apartment; when the President took the opinion of the Assembly, whether Lewis Capet should be re-conducted to the Temple. This was immediately decreed; and, after a considerable tumult, and multitude of motions, it was likewise decreed, on the motion of Treilbard, amended by Petion, that Lewis, in conformity to law, had a right to *choose Council*.—The late King was then re-conducted to the Temple, under the same escort.

The whole conduct of Lewis, on the foregoing solemn and trying occasion, did him the greatest credit, whether we consider the firm dignity of his appearance—his perfect collectedness and composure, or the readiness, pertinency, and even acuteness of his replies, in general, to charges, which, as before stated, had been withheld from his knowledge with a studied and ungenerous secrecy. In short, his entire demeanour, during these two critical hours of examination, reflected high honour on him as a man, and have placed his mental endowments  
and



and exertions on a point of elevation and esteem, of which neither his countrymen nor foreigners, I believe, had any previous, or adequate conception.

Lewis availing himself of the privilege granted him to chuse Council, thought of none in whom he could place such confidence as Target; but what must have been his feelings when this person whom he honoured with the nomination refused, first, on the ground of *age*—he should have rested there; but to his eternal dishonour and disgrace as a *professional advocate*, he added, that his *present republican principles* would not admit of his undertaking the defence of *Lewis*.

Such was the grateful return from one who had formerly liberally experienced his royal munificence.

But let us turn from a character justly stamped with public execration and odium, to that of the amiable Tronchet. He too might have pleaded the advance of *age* for declining the application and defence of his degraded Sovereign. Professional duty and honour, however, impressed him too forcibly to resort to the mean and most reprehensible evasion of *political opinions or principles*. His letter to the Minister of Justice reflects such a lustre on the professional character of a legal Advocate, and presents

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such

such a noble disinterestedness of conduct, and striking contrast to the detestable subterfuge of Target, as most deservedly to demand an insertion in this narrative.

PARIS, December 13th, 1792.

“CITIZEN MINISTER,

“Entirely a stranger to the court, with which I never had the least connection, direct or indirect, I did not expect to see myself forced to abandon my country habitation, and the absolute retreat to which I had devoted myself, to concur in the defence of Lewis XVI.

“If I consulted my inclinations and my character, I should not hesitate to refuse a mission, of which I feel the extreme delicacy, and perhaps, peril.

“However it may be, I devote myself to the duty which humanity imposes on me. As a man I cannot refuse my aid to another man, over whose head the sword of justice is suspended.

“Receive, I beg you, the oath I now take, and which I should wish to see made public—that, whatever be the event, I shall receive no testimony of acknowledgment from any one on earth.

I am, with respect,

Citizen Minister, your fellow citizen,  
TRONCHET.”

“To the Minister of Justice.”

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It is an act also of common justice to notice the courage and virtue of Lamoignon Maleherbes, who voluntarily and unsolicited offered himself as an advocate in the cause and defence of his late Sovereign, when abandoned by Target. His offer was accepted with a sense of obligation that started a silent tear of gratitude from the eye of the unhappy Lewis.

During the important and critical interval I am now describing, the ungrateful and unworthy conduct of Target was not the only circumstance that added to the already accumulated afflictions of the *ci-devant* Monarch. Though the Convention had decreed on the 11th that his Council should have free admittance to, and hold unrestrained consultations with him, it was not until the afternoon of Saturday the 14th that access could be obtained.

When it is considered that the Committee of Accusation were upwards of three months in collecting and digesting the evidence to be adduced against Lewis, and that it was not without strenuous opposition, from no small part of the Convention, that the interval allowed him and his Council to make his final defence against the host of charges was extended only to a few days, every generous and candid mind must feel poignant indignation, that four days of the little period, so big with the fate of this  
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once great Monarch, should be suffered to elapse without permitting him to advance a single step in his ultimate defence. But how must that indignation be increased, on the complaint of his advocates to the Convention, that even when admitted to his presence, not a single criminating paper had been delivered for their inspection, and to which the defence they were to frame related.

There was another afflicting circumstance which greatly tended, during this solemn interval of his suspended fate, to embitter moments, which should have left his mind as serene as possible while forming his defence. The separation from that part of his family, where social love and tenderness, from sympathy of affections, and reciprocity of situations, might have somewhat assuaged the agitations and afflictions of his bosom. The comfort, indeed, of seeing his children was granted him; but with the congenial partner of his sorrows and misfortunes all intercourse was rigidly denied.

On what ground, otherwise than that of inhumanity, this order was issued, is not easy to ascertain, unless the inveterate foes and accusers of Lewis are supposed to have been apprehensive, that the known strength and brilliancy of Antoinette's understanding might have assisted, during the construction of his defence, in sug-  
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gesting such observations and arguments as would give it an increase of force.

Under these, and other afflicting circumstances that could be mentioned, which marked that important interval, immediately preceding the statement by council of his final defence, it would have been no wonder if the fortitude of Lewis had sunk, and that even reason had quitted her throne. Yet to his great credit, under the foregoing accumulation of cruel and unjust treatment, and during the extreme labours and attentions, necessary to be exerted on his part, in the formation of his defence, his stability and presence of mind never once forsook him. He conversed with his advocates with astonishing collectedness, replied to an infinity of questions with the utmost readiness and perspicuity, and communicated statements and information, with such precision and vigour of memory, as considerably excited their admiration, and forcibly impressed them with an elevated opinion of the unfortunate Monarch's mental qualifications.

December the 26th, ever memorable in the annals of infamy, at last arrived; the President of the Convention took the chair early. At nine o'clock he announced that Lewis and his defenders were arrived. After waiting some time in an adjacent room, until the Members were all assembled

affembled, they approached the bar in the following order—

Two Serjeants at Arms	General Santerre
Two Municipal Officers	The Mayor of Paris

### LEWIS XVI.

Accompanied by his three advocates—M. M. Tronchet, Lamoignon Maleherbes, and Romain Deseze—Two Serjeants at Arms, Guards, &c.

Lewis was in an undress; and from the appearance of his hair and beard he seemed to have paid little attention to them since he had been deprived of his razors, &c. His countenance manifested serenity and fortitude, and his whole deportment wore an air of that manly dignity which arises from and is supported by conscious innocence—

*Pres.* LEWIS—the Convention have decreed that you shall be definitively heard this day.

*Lewis.* My Council will read my defence.

To Deseze, who had been previously nominated auxilliary Council with the other two, it was appointed to deliver the defence, which he opened in substance, nearly in the following words :

### DEFENCE



## DEFENCE OF THE LATE KING.

*“ Citizens---Representatives of the Nation,*

The moment is now arrived, when Lewis, accused in the name of the French people, and attended by those advocates whom humanity and the laws have granted him, stands forward to present his justification, and in which he will avow every principle that has influenced his conduct.

Already am I convinced, by the awful silence of this assembly, that justice hath resumed her seat, and that the despotism of indecent impatience, and ill-advised rashness has passed away. Already am I convinced, that the Temple of Liberty is also the Temple of Impartiality; and that the man, whoever he may be, who stands in the humiliating situation of being accused, will receive the unprejudiced attention of his accusers.

The misfortunes of kings are more tenderly impressive than those of common men; and he, who but lately filled the most brilliant throne in the universe, must excite a still more powerful interest. He no longer waves the rod of power---never more will he depress the human mind into fear---never more will he elevate it into hope.

hope. Thus reduced, Citizens, surely he has a right to demand the exercise, not only of your justice, but even to interest your humanity, because oppressed by misfortunes, which, in the annals of the human race, have no parallel.

'Ere the present moment, you have heard nothing more than the answers he has made you. You summoned him before you. He is come with calmness, dignity, and fortitude, and supported by the conscious integrity of his intentions.

Lewis can assert only that he is innocent---I come to prove it you---I bring the demonstration. Would to God, that at this moment all France could hear me ; or at least all those who have received baneful impressions to his prejudice. Lewis knows that all Europe expects with anxiety the sentence you are now to pass---he knows that posterity will one day examine it---he knows this, but considers only his contemporaries. With him we forget posterity, and view only the present moment.

Had I, Judges, only to answer, I would content myself with saying, that since the nation has abolished royalty, she had no right to interfere further with Lewis for acts done, while he wore the diadem. But I speak to, and would wish to satisfy the people, that he is innocent even of charges for which he cannot be constitutionally tried.

I shall here examine the affair under two points of view—that in which he was placed *prior* to his acceptance, and that in which he stands *subsequent* to the acceptance of the Constitution—or, in other words, that which relates to his condition while monarch, and that which affects his situation after the abolition of monarchy.

In entering on this field of discussion, I discover—first—the decree by which the National Convention determined to try Lewis, and I am not ignorant of the abuses which some minds, more inflamed with passion than governed by reason, have pretended to discover in this decree—I know they suppose that the promulgation of this decree precisely stripped Lewis of his

#### INVIOLABILITY,

with which the Constitution had invested him. I know they contend that Lewis cannot adduce this inviolability, as an article of his defence. But that this is an error a single observation will demonstrate. For what declaration has the Convention made? In decreeing that Lewis shall be judged by them, they constituted themselves judges of the accusation which they had instituted against him; but at the same time they decreed that Lewis should be heard in his defence. It was on this account impossible that

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judgment should precede this defence, and therefore he necessarily possesses the right of rebutting the accusation brought against him, by any means which may appear to him likely to produce this consummation. If the principles which Lewis may think proper to advance are not tenable, the Convention will of course not suffer them to operate in his favour in their decision. But, whether they are tenable or not, the Convention must of necessity hear them, Such are the dictates of Justice—such is the Law.

These, then, are principles on which I rest, and to which I lay claim, in order to evince that Lewis has a constitutional right of adducing his plea, in the first instance, of Inviolability.

Nations possess the sovereign power of adopting what form of government they please, and of amending or altering their constitution whenever they experience that it contains faults and imperfections. This sovereign right of nations I mean not to deny. Yet a great nation cannot exercise this sovereignty in its aggregate capacity—it must be delegated to a component part of that nation—and this necessity of delegation impels an obligation on the nation, either of electing a King or instituting a Republic.

In 1789, the first epoch of the Revolution, which changed at once the form of government  
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under which we had lived many ages, the assembled nation declared to those whom she had selected as her representatives, that she would establish a monarchical form of government.

Now, citizens, a monarchical form of government necessarily requires that the monarch shall be inviolable.—The representatives of the French people thought, that, as they entrusted their King with the whole executive authority, it was right and proper that he should be invested with the power of judging in all cases, that the operations of his authority might not be impeded; should possess, in short, a power perfectly competent—and therefore deemed, that, to preserve the free exercise of this authority, it was necessary to declare it inviolable.

On this ground the Representatives of the People placed the foundation of a Constitution which France demanded from them. I turn then to the Constitution, and see, in the first chapter on Royalty, that the monarchy is indivisible, and descends, in a hereditary manner, from male to male. This provision naturally infers that the title which Lewis possessed was delegated to him.—The nature, however, of this delegation has been disputed.—It has been asked whether it was a contract?—doubtless it was a contract, resembling in its nature those which cannot be dissolved but by the mutual consent  
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of the contracting parties. It was a contract in this construction, which, as long as it subsisted, obliged the persons giving the mandate to perform all the conditions under which they had given it, and obliged him to whom it was given to fulfil the conditions under which he had received it.

What, then, were those conditions and the penalties? In the second article of the Constitution of 1789, I find that the person of the king is inviolable—there is no exception, no modification—but there are circumstances by which he may lose this character of inviolability.

*Penalties respecting the King's Executive Government and Inviolability.*

The first is, as contained in the first section of the fifth article—"That if in one month, after being invited by the Legislative Body, the King shall not take an oath to be faithful to the nation and the laws, and to maintain the Constitution, or if after having taken it he shall retract it, *he shall be considered as having abdicated the throne.*"

The nation here ordains the King shall take an oath. To retract the oath, when taken, becomes criminal against the nation. The nation  
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has foreseen the crime, and has pronounced its penalty or punishment—what is it?—why, that the King should be deemed to have abdicated the throne.

Hence you see that the Constitution, under this head, limits the penalty or punishment—but creates no tribunal—no trial—nor even proceeds so far as to ordain positive dethronement, resting only on the ground that the King shall be presumed to have abdicated royalty.

But further—without retracting his oath, the King could betray it; for he might favour hostile and criminal enterprizes against the state—The Constitution has again foreseen this case, and therefore ordains—

2dly—“That if the King puts himself at the head of an army, and directs its force against the nation, or if he refuses to oppose any army hostile to the Constitution, by every means in his power, he shall be considered as having abdicated the throne.”

I entreat you, citizens, to pay particular attention to the nature of the crime foreseen by this law—than which there cannot be supposed to exist a more atrocious offence—and which may be said to comprehend every other; for it supposes all the machinations, all the perfidies, all the treason, every horror, scourge, every calamity of sanguinary war, and yet what is the ut-  
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most penalty that the Constitution pronounces for the heinous crime?—why the abdication only of the throne.

The 7th article foresees the existence of a case in which the King may quit the kingdom, and refuse to comply with the requisition of the Legislative Body to return.—And the penalty which the Constitution still decrees is—the abdication of royalty.

In the 8th article, which is most important, it is declared—“ That after the direct or legal abdication of the King, he shall be considered as belonging to the class of citizens, and may be then accused and tried in the same manner they are, for all acts *posterior to his abdication*.

Hence it manifestly and indisputably follows, that it is not 'till he has either voluntarily abdicated the throne, or until he has committed one of the crimes above stated, which amount to a presumption of abdication, that the King can be considered as belonging to the class of Citizens, and to be tried as such for acts posterior to such abdication.

It is from the most atrocious crime a King can commit against a nation, that it supposes him returned to the class of Citizens. In other respects, the law is perfectly equal between the Legislative Body and the King. The Legislative Body may also betray the nation, it might  
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seize the National Sovereignty, the nation had the right to pronounce a penalty against their deputies, yet none has been pronounced.

Lewis is accused in the name of the nation of various crimes. But these crimes are provided by the Constitutional act, and the penalty prescribed ought to be applied, and no other, as you cannot apply a new penalty, without a violation of the law, which the Constitution has already ordained for specific acts,

I well know, that now the nation has abolished Kingly power, the penalty can no longer be applied, but could it change the fate of Lewis? Has he not a right to say, when the Constitution was accepted, I was the prisoner of the nation, why did not you try me? You have abolished royalty; I do not contest your right; but, because you have abolished royalty, will you punish me? and, because you know no previous existing law can apply to me, will you create an *ex post facto* law for the purpose? and for me alone? You have all the powers, doubtless; but one power you have not, that of being unjust.

It has been said he was only inviolable for individual Citizens. According to this principle, the representatives of the people would no longer be inviolable to the people for every thing they have done, said, or written, during their session. And, it is further said, that the nation

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tion could not, without renouncing its Sovereignty, renounce the right to punish, otherwise than by the penalties of the Constitution, crimes committed against it. But this is an equivocation, of which it is surprising any use should have been made; for, though the nation could make itself a Constitutional law, it could not renounce the right to change this law; because the right was essential to the Sovereignty belonging it; nor could it say, without universally exciting the clamours of indignation—"I will not execute the law I prescribed to myself, notwithstanding the solemn oath I made to execute, so long as that should subsist."

It has been further said, that there existed no law which could be applied to Lewis, therefore, the will of the people should pronounce without one. Here is my answer, Citizens, I read these words in Rousseau's Social Compact, article iv.

"Whenever there is neither an existing law, nor a judge to pronounce, I cannot depend on the general will. The general will, as general, can neither try the man, nor the fact." This text is conclusive, and requires no comment.

If you deprive Lewis of the right of inviolability as a King, you cannot deprive him of the right of trial as a Citizen. And in this last case, I demand of you, where are all the forms of preservation? Where are the juries, those hostages

tages for the lives and honour of Citizens? I demand, where is the proportion of suffrages which the law has so wisely established? Where is the silent ballot, which incloses, in the same urn, the opinion and conscience of the judge? I speak to you with the plainness of a free man. I look among you for judges, and I see none but accusers. You will pronounce judgment upon Lewis, though you have accused him—You will pronounce upon Lewis, though your opinions are already known to all Europe!

Lewis, in a word, will be the only Frenchman in favour of whom neither exists a law, nor any form of a law.

He will neither enjoy the right of Citizen, nor the prerogative of a King.

He will profit neither of his former condition, nor of his new one. I do not insist upon these reflections; I abandon them to your conscience. I do not intend to defend Lewis upon principles; I mean to combat prejudices which prevail against his character, and I mean to destroy them.

I am going, therefore, to present to you his justification. I shall enter into the facts which are detailed in your accusation.

I shall divide this act into two parts, one containing the facts which preceded the Constitution, and the other those which are subsequent to it.

## DISCUSSION OF THE FACTS.

### FIRST PART.

#### FACTS PRECEDING THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE CONSTITUTION.

You recede, in your act, to the month of June 1789—I go back also—

But how could you accuse him of having wished at that day to dissolve the assembly? Do you forget it was he who then convened and formed it? Do you forget, that for more than one hundred and fifty years, Princes more jealous than him of authority and prerogative had constantly refused to convene this Assembly, and that he had the courage, that he alone dared to surround himself with the understanding, with the consolation of the people, and dreaded not their remonstrances. In fact, by the sacrifices which he made before that grand National Convention, he gave proofs of wishing to see the precious advantage which himself had granted.

Citizens, we too much forget what France was in 1789, in point of absolute authority exercised by Royalty—and that without a generous emotion in the will of this Prince, against whom so many voices are now lifted up, the nation

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tion might not, even at this moment, been assembled and deliberating.

You next accuse him of "having drawn troops round Paris in July 1789, and with being the cause of the commotions of those troops." But I can pronounce that they were only intended for the protection of Paris against disturbers. I had occasion to see the order, when employed to defend the Commandant (Bezenval) of those troops, and whom the nation did not hesitate to acquit."

But I have a still better answer to make to you, and the nation itself furnishes me with it—It is this—On the 4th of August, the whole kingdom proclaimed Lewis the Restorer of French Liberty—requested of him to unite with them, and offer together their thanks to the Supreme Being, and vote a medal eternally to perpetuate the memory of the great era.

The month of July, therefore, was at that interval wholly out of contemplation respecting Lewis.

You reproach him with the "arrival of the Flanders regiment at Versailles"—I answer—that the Municipal Officers had expressly requested it.

"With the insult given to the National Cockade." Lewis has himself declared to you, that,

that, if this odious fact ever existed, he was ignorant of it; it did not pass before him.

“ With his observations on the Decree of the 11th of August.” His conscience dictated them; and why should he not then have had liberty of opinion on decrees, since the nation afterwards granted the right of opposing the decrees themselves?

You say that “ Lewis, at and since the fœderation in July 1790, endeavoured to corrupt the public mind; that papers have been found in his possession, representing that Talon was destined to act against Paris, and Mirabeau charged to stir up a Counter-revolutionary movement in the Provinces; that letters had also been found from the administrators of his civil list, which speak of money spent, and say, that this money had produced no good effect.”

You oppose to him these memorials, and these letters. Citizens, I could make several answers on this head. If I was defending an ordinary client, I would maintain, that the papers which could be produced against him from the invasion of his house can not be opposed to him.

The dwelling-house of Lewis, it is notorious to all, was assailed—his bureaux forced—his desks broken—a great number of his papers have been scattered or lost—the law had not put them

them under its safeguard—there were no seals placed on them—no inventory made in the presence of Lewis, as ought legally to have been done—during the tumult of invasion, papers might be left or taken away, which would have explained others brought in charge against him.—In a word, Lewis was not present when his papers were seized—he was not even present at their examination—he has therefore a right of denying them, and you have no right of bringing them in proof against him.

But, besides, what are these papers?—the letters, in fact, of a *dead man*—now, can the letters of a dead man be brought in proof?—If he to whom they are imputed was still in existence, they could not be opposed to himself, without first proving his hand-writing—How then can they be brought against a *third* person—particularly Lewis?

It is said that these letters speak of *money distributed*; but if this fact, which they do not explain, be true, and should it be true that they have extorted from his sensibility, from his beneficence, sums greater or less, is it not well known with what an unfortunate facility Kings are circumvented and deceived. The copy of a letter to Mirabeau and La Fayette is spoken of, but the letter was only a rough draught, and was never sent. Mirabeau and La Fayette were then



then too the most popular men, they both loved the Constitution; in this scheme the good of the State was the only end.

He was reproached for "his letter to Bouille;" here there is not even occasion for him to justify himself. The National Assembly had voted thanks for the conduct of Bouille—and Lewis moreover wrote to him the next day, exhorting him to continue to render the same services to the nation.

You have reproached him "with the Assemblies of People on the 28th of February;" but popular rumours had drawn to the palace men of warm tempers, and Lewis had ordered them to quit their arms.

You have reproached him "with his journey to Varennes"—but Lewis at that time explained his motives to the Constituent Assembly; and with him I now refer you to those motives.

You have charged him "with the blood spilt in the Champ de Mars on the 19th of July."—Citizens, of all the reproaches you have made him, Lewis takes this most to heart—what! you accuse him of the blood shed in the camp de Mars—you insist that this blood shall fall on him!—Have you then forgotten, that at this cruel period the unfortunate Prince was suspended from his authority—immured in his palace—the prisoner

soner of the nation—without any external communication, and guarded in sight!—Where then were his means of conspiracy to shed blood?

You reproach him with having paid, from his civil list, libels to pervert the public opinion, and to support the cause of the emigrants!

I shall soon have occasion to notice what regards the emigrants—and will shew that he never had a design to support or favour their cause.

But, with respect to the libels, I observe, that it was not with the administrator of the civil list that the receipts for all the libels of which you have spoken, were found—but it was with his secretary, who was not even known to Lewis—so that you cannot charge Lewis with the abuses of the subalterns in their several offices, or of the intentions which they discovered—But even supposing Lewis should have done himself, not to pervert the public mind, but to convert it, what so many factious men have done on their part to mislead or corrupt, where would be the reproach?

The nation has now decreed a republic—but this was not the form of government that the nation then wished. The republicans, on the contrary, were at that interval considered as a faction—they were deemed so even so late as the month

month of July last, when the Legislative Assembly explicitly declared against this system of government by a decree.

The nation demanded the constitution. Then therefore persons might write in support of it; nay, they ought to have done so, and Lewis, as the supreme head of the government, and charged to support the constitution, as holding royalty from it, was obliged to superintend and preserve the deposit, and ought to have wished to influence the public opinion in directing it. What then was a duty, cannot now be pronounced libellous; but if in the execution of the views presented him for adoption, his good intentions were betrayed, and his confidence abused; and if, unknown to him, dangerous opinions were disseminated, or wise and useful ones attacked, we should heave a sigh for the fate of the King, but could not criminate him.

Citizens, such is the first epoch of your act of accusation; I have gone through the several facts, and justified Lewis in them, although I have not yet pronounced the word, which must alone annihilate all this chain of accusations; and efface all the errors, all the faults, if he had really committed any; I have not said, that posterior to all these facts, he has accepted the Constitution. This would alone sufficed to have answered all.

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The Constitution was the new compact of alliance between the nation and Lewis—the past no longer existed—all suspicions were dissipated—all dissensions appeased—all prejudices vanished—in a word, all was forgotten and extinct. We cannot, therefore, justly recollect what preceded the Constitution, much less adduce it in crimination.

Let us then examine what followed the acceptance of the Constitution.

#### SECOND PART.

#### FACTS—POSTERIOR TO THE CONSTITUTION.

THIS part or act of your accusation comprehends both the facts, which Lewis was not bound to answer, as affecting only those men which the Constitution gave him as Ministers—and the facts which affect him personally—since no legal right can exist of accusing both King and Ministers of the same acts, inasmuch as the Constitution has in fact made a declaration of attaching responsibility to Ministers.

But the Constitution did not make the same declaration respecting the King—did not hold out the same menaces or punishment against him.—the Constitution made a distinct declaration relative to him, as we have stated in the

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former part of this defence—and to the terms of which the nation is bound.

The King could do nothing without his ministers—an order, bearing his signature alone, could not be carried into execution. It was highly necessary, therefore, that the good conduct of the Ministers he had chosen should co-operate incessantly with the laws—and from the presumption of their being considered always as the King's advisers, that responsibility should attach to them for all acts done jointly with their Sovereign.

It is, on this account, impossible that the the King and his Ministers could be accused on the same grounds.—Nevertheless, in glancing the eye over those ministerial facts contained in the act of accusation, it will be easy to discern the imputations are groundless.

*First*—ACTIONS FOR WHICH MINISTERS WERE RESPONSIBLE.

For example—Lewis is accused of having “suffered the National Assembly to remain ignorant of the Convention of Pilnitz.”—I answer, that this Convention was a secret treaty between the Emperor and the King of Prussia—the government was only informed of it, and that very obscurely, through the channel of intimations from  
ministers

ministers resident in foreign courts—there could not exist, therefore, any substantial reasons which imposed on the executive power an obligation of transmitting to an assembly, whose deliberations were all public, intelligence of a treaty which was studiously kept as secret as possible.

But in fact, this intelligence, obscure and doubtful as it was, which government could not consistently transmit to the assembly, was nevertheless communicated, the moment government received it, to the diplomatic committee. I recur to the registry of foreign affairs, in proof of my assertion—and pronounce, that such registry will ascertain, that the earliest information of the treaty of Pilnitz, received by government, was communicated without delay to the diplomatic committee. I hold in my hand these proofs—the Minister, therefore, to whom this pretended delay has been attributed, and who is now no more, stands clearly acquitted of the charge.

You charge Lewis, “ that the Commissioners sent to Arles were more inclined to favour than repress a Counter-revolution.” To this Lewis himself has replied most properly and sensibly, that not the actions but the instructions of the Commissioners manifest the intentions of government—You can find no fault with their instructions, and can, therefore, adduce no charge against government.

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You charge him also, "with retarding for a month the transmission of the decree by which Avignon and the county of Venaissin were reunited to France." This, Citizens, was one of the heads of accusation against the Minister De Lessart. The National Assembly accused him, because they considered that responsibility attached to him, and the Assembly was about to decide on it, when Lessart died in prison, at the moment he was preparing his justification, and which with his expiring breath he averred would leave no doubt of his innocence. Can you now renew the charge against the memory of a man you deemed responsible? or, much more, can you, after his death, bring the same accusation against the King?

You have charged Lewis also, "with the troubles at Nîmes, and the convulsions of Jales." Let me, Citizens, concisely ask you, is it for the King to be answerable for all the commotions inseparable from a great revolution?

But it is urged, "that he supported these commotions, because his brothers were acquainted with Du Saillant;" but this deduction is founded in error, and which is sufficiently evinced by several communications made to Lewis; for among other circumstances it may be remarked, that in these communications mention is made of a paper given to Du Saillant, to borrow

row in the name of the Princes a hundred thousand crowns. Now, we may easily conceive, that if Lewis was concerned in protecting those conspirators, he would not have reduced them to the mortifying and wretched necessity of borrowing a sum so trifling and disproportionate to the expences which their plans obviously required, but would have furnished them with assistance more active and effectual.

From the disturbances in the south, "a letter to Lewis from Wiginstein, who commanded there, has been constituted a crime; and an assertion made, that after that General had been recalled the King had employed him." But Lewis gave him no place nor employ whatever after his recal from the southern army. It has been said, he had a commission afterwards in the northern army. Possibly La Fayette may have demanded it, and a rough draught of a letter found in the war office seems to support the supposition—but the letter was never sent—Wiginstein never stirred from Paris, subsequent to his recal, and died without enjoying any new post.

"The account delivered by Narbonne to the National Assembly of the state of the army, has been made to implicate a charge also against Lewis."—I reply—that when Narbonne quitted the ministry,

ministry the Legislative Assembly decreed that he took with him the regret and confidence of the nation.

“ Lewis has been charged with the destruction of the navy, and of having kept Bertrand in office, notwithstanding the complaints made to him respecting Bertrand by the National Assembly.”—I answer—that Bertrand effectually rebutted the charges, and that consequently Lewis was not bound to withdraw from him his confidence, the National Assembly not having brought any specific accusation against him.

“ The disasters of the colonies have been ascribed to him”—there is not the slightest reason for me, not a shadow of proof being advanced of the charge, to reply to it.

“ He has been reproached with the surrender of Longwy and Verdun,”—I insist that Longwy was surrendered by the cowardice and treachery of its inhabitants only; and, in respect of Verdun, I ask, who was it that appointed its immortal commander, Beaurepaire, who preferred death to a surrender of the town?—Lewis.

“ He has been reproached with having suffered the French nation to be disgraced in the different courts of Europe.”—A single word of answer will be sufficient to this charge. I demand, in the name of my client, that the office of foreign affairs may be searched, in order that it  
may



may be proved, from authentic records, that whenever he informed the government of any insult offered to the French in any European court, the government invariably demanded reparation for such insult. My colleagues and I have not had time to make such search, but Lewis insults upon the existence of such records.

Finally, "Lewis has been charged with retaining in his service the Swiss Guards, in opposition to the Constitution, which forbade him, and to the Assembly, who had ordered their departure."—This charge I shall confute by the following facts: A decree of the Constituent Assembly of the 17th of September, declared, that the King should be entreated to present to the Legislative power a new organization of the Swiss Guards, which should result from stipulations made on that subject with Switzerland. 'Till that organization should be decided, the National Assembly, considering that the regiment had deserved well of the nation, ordered that it should continue on its ancient establishment. In consequence of this order the guards remained in *statu quo*;—on the 15th of July last the Legislative Assembly passed a decree, by which the Executive Power was directed to order the departure of the troops of the line then in Paris;—by another decree passed the same day, the diplomatic committee was directed to  
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make a report on the stipulations agreed upon with the Swiss, and on the suppression of the post of Colonel-general of the Swiss Guards. On the 17th, a letter was sent by D'Affry, relative to the order transmitted to him respecting the departure of the Swiss Guards—he refers in it to the stipulations which were not expired ;—another decree was passed in consequence of this letter, by which, till the report of the diplomatic committee should be made, two battalions of the Swiss Guards were ordered to station themselves thirty miles from the capital.—D'Affry, situated thus between two contending orders, the Swiss stipulations, and the apparent will of the National Assembly, transmitted, on the 4th of August, a second letter to the Assembly, in which he made some observations on the mode of putting their decrees into execution.

The Assembly, without returning an answer to this letter, passed to the order of the day ;—the decree was consequently carried into execution. Citizens, these are facts dependent on the different ministers : I am sensible that Lewis might have refrained from entering into a discussion of them, because the ministers were alone responsible for them ; but in glancing over them with the celerity to which I have been compelled, I have endeavoured to prove to the French nation, that even in cases for which the Constitution

tution had not made him responsible, Lewis has always conducted himself as if he had been. I proceed now to facts which affect him more personally.

*Second*—ACTS PERSONALLY AFFECTING LEWIS.

Lewis is accused “ of not sanctioning the decrees respecting the priests, and the camp of Paris.”—Respecting the latter I might urge, that the Constitution bestowed on the King the absolute liberty of giving or refusing his consent. But, waving this argument, his refusal might be pronounced a wise measure—the decree excited great alarm, particularly in the minds of the national guards—the opinion of the metropolis was divided—a large party justified the decree—a much larger condemned and opposed it—the Council even did not agree—surrounded by all these agitations, and fearful of exciting disturbances, Lewis deemed it prudent to refuse his consent; but at the same time he determined to adopt another measure, which possessed all the advantages resulting from the decree, without any of its objections. He formed a camp at Soissons, and the effect has been, that this measure has produced the most important effects to the nation; for the camp of Soissons has been

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essentially serviceable to the French army, while, in fact, that of Paris would have been totally useless.

With respect to the decree relative to the priests, the conscience, Citizens, of no man should be compelled. Lewis felt that he should wound his own if he sanctioned that decree; and, though his motives might be erroneous, his error, at least, was that of virtue. However, therefore, we may blame the effect, it is impossible but that we should respect the cause.

He is accused of "writing a letter to the Bishop of Clermont, informing him, that he was disposed to re-establish the Catholic form of religion when it should be in his power."—But this was an opinion purely religious, and which he was therefore at liberty to entertain; for this liberty is contained in the Constitution, though not in the civil constitution of the Clergy.—Moreover, Lewis in fact wrote this letter antecedent to the period in which he assented to the Constitution; and, when he did accept the Constitution, he avowed that he did not think it free from spots, and expressed hopes, at the same time, that it would undergo legal alterations; but surely such hopes cannot be construed into an intention of destroying or subverting the Constitution!

Lewis

Lewis has been accused of "having continued his guards in his pay after the Assembly had ordered them to be disbanded." On this subject of accusation, Citizens, several answers offer themselves. In the first place, it cannot be denied that Lewis was at liberty to sanction the decree which pronounced the order for disbanding his guards; for he had received them from the Constitution, and therefore he could not be deprived of them but by his own consent. Nevertheless, the National Assembly requested him to disband them, and he consented. But, as the Decree granted him the power of establishing anew this same guard, and of filling it partly with the same men, it was necessary, that till the fresh establishment should be completed, he should continue to all their former pay. It was an act equally of justice and of humanity. Besides, he did not adopt this mode of conduct clandestinely; he adopted it by public order. It has been said, that among these guards there were many notorious for their disaffection. In the first place, no specific and positive charge of disaffection was ever made. In the second place, I have no right to admit, or to say that they have been guilty of a charge on which they have not been tried. Thirdly, these whom Lewis should deem to be disaffected, would not have been admitted into the new organization

ganization of the regiment ; but it would have been barbarous in Lewis to have refused them that assistance of which they were so much in need.

Lewis has been further accused of " assisting the Emigrants."

" Of corresponding with his brothers."

" Of heading, by means of his Ambassadors, the Confederacy against France."

And " of possessing an influence in the Court of Vienna."

I centre, Legislators, all these charges ; because they are contained in the same article of accusation. In the first place, I answer, that in all the actions of his government Lewis never ceased to testify his strongest disapprobation of the conduct of the Emigrants. His proclamations shew it, and his transactions with foreign nations demonstrate it. The following fact likewise is powerfully in proof of this assertion. In the month of November 1791, the Emigrants wanted to purchase cannon and other implements of war, which the inhabitants of Frankfort refused to sell. Lewis, on being informed of this circumstance by his resident in that city, ordered him to thank the magistrate of Frankfort



fort for his conduct, and to invite him to persist in his refusal.

So much for the public conduct of the King: But what of his private conduct? Succours of money have been mentioned—but, Citizens, there exists not a single Emigrant to whom Lewis has given the smallest pecuniary assistance. It is true, he assisted his nephews, when their father was no longer able to do it—but who can call this a crime? One of his nephews was but eleven years old, the other fourteen, when their father quitted France—can they be called Emigrants? For, though the Convention has lately passed a law, specifying the age of Emigrants, no law of the description existed at the period of his nephews leaving France. Was it incumbent, therefore, on him to smother all sentiments of humanity towards such tender objects—or, because he was a King, should he cease to be a relation?

It is acknowledged also, that he bestowed some presents on the governante of his children—but let it be considered that she had been their governess, and had left France in 1789. To Choiseul Beaupre, likewise, and La Vanguion, two of his attendants in his youth, he had made a present; but Beaupre had retired to Italy, and La Vanguion to Spain, at the commencement

mencement of the revolution, and neither have borne arms against France.

He gave assistance to Rochefort, mentioned also in the articles of accusation; but Rochefort has not emigrated: Accused likewise of giving a sum of money to Bouille, but it was for his journey to Montmedy—and to Hamilton, but it was to defray his expences of the same journey, which he was unable himself to have done.

It has been asserted that Bouille remitted to Monsieur, by order of Lewis, above six hundred thousand livres. An equivocal term, Citizens, has given rise to this serious charge, which, in point of fact, is utterly without foundation. Bouille says in his account—"Remitted to Monsieur (the King's brother) by his order." This order is evidently the order of Monsieur, and not that of Lewis—the mistake arises from the redundant appellation of the King's brother—I contend, and Lewis challenges all proof to the contrary, that he never remitted any pecuniary assistance to Monsieur; all he advanced was the sum of 400,000 livres to discharge an old debt of his own brother for which he had pledged his security—and concerning which, he chose not to violate his honour and engagement—and moreover, as the debt was paid to a creditor in France, the transaction

faction had not the slightest relation to any act of emigration.

He is reproached "with having influenced the Court of Vienna." A letter from Dumoutier to Monsieur is deduced in proof. In this letter, Dumoutier appears to present Breteuil to him as having some influence at the Court of Vienna and supposes, at the same time, that Breteuil was acquainted with the inclinations of the King.

In the first place, it was but a letter of Dumoutier, who was the Prince's agent at the foreign Courts, and not the agent of Lewis—his opinion, therefore, can have no weight.

And secondly, that opinion is no proof whatever of the existence of the fact of which Dumoutier speaks, that Breteuil was acquainted with the sentiments of the King.

A letter of Toulangeon has been much quoted, which was written at a time when he was going to Vienna, and in which he pretended to say that the King condescended to inform him that he approved of his conduct. But I must confess the letter of Toulangeon appears to me very suspicious. There is the name of one Vallery mentioned in it, as the nephew of Toulangeon, and a Lieutenant-Colonel. The fact is, that Vallery is the cousin, and not the nephew of Toulangeon, and no Lieutenant-Colonel.



nel. Now, is it to be supposed, that Toulangeon should be so egregiously mistaken in circumstances that so immediately concern a near relation? But, waving this strong ground of suspicion of the authenticity of the alledged letter, would not the falsehood of the assertion be sufficiently testified by remarking, that it is to the Princes, the brothers of Lewis, to whom Toulangeon wrote, but without giving the least clue or proof of so important an assertion as that of the real will of the King.

A letter from Choiseul Gouffier has been produced against Lewis, by which it appears that Gouffier has endeavoured to cement the alliance of Turkey with Austria; from the one circumstance it was thought, that since Gouffier has been the ambassador of Lewis, his projects might be attributed to Lewis himself.

In order to reply to this charge, I desire only the letter of Choiseul. This letter in fact proves two things; the first, that two months before his recal, Gouffier offered his services to the Princes, but had received no answer, The first sentence begins in this manner: "Although I have not received your Royal Highnesses' orders, which I had the presumption to solicit two months ago, I hope that you will deign to receive the homage of my devotion and unalterable fidelity." The second is, that three days after

posterior to, and in consequence of this recal, Gouffier Choiseul determined to repeat anew the offer of his service to the Princes, and to adopt schemes against the National Ambassador who had been sent to replace him. The proof results from the following sentence. "I have received three days ago my letters of recal; they informed me that M. de Simonville is appointed in my stead; the projects, therefore, of this National Ambassador are no longer doubtful, and your Royal Highnesses are too enlightened not to perceive the fatal consequences of the negotiation with which he is charged." It was therefore Choiseul who wrote and acted, who, recalled by Lewis, offered his services to the Princes, who attempted to keep his post in opposition to his recal, and yet Lewis is accused!

A note, without date, has been adduced against Lewis, said to have been written to him by Monsieur, in the name of his two brothers, and found amongst his papers. Lewis has declared, that it is not in his power either to avow or contest the note—but which, if genuine, is the act, not of him, but of his brother—and the billet proves evidently Lewis had no correspondence with them, for it neither alludes to intelligence received antecedent, nor to any answer expected posterior to it.

As to the imputation of a considerable traffic carried on by Lewis, and which, it is pretended, the papers of Septeuil strongly prove, you have yourselves acquitted him of this. You have only offered it as a question. Indeed Septeuil's own conduct sufficiently evinces that his agency for Lewis was no more than being entrusted with several sums, to be distributed, according to the order of Lewis, in charities.

He has been accused of "having bribed several Members of the Legislative Assembly, and caused by corrupt means the passing of several decrees, respecting the liquidation of the expenses of his household, and of the pensions on the civil list." But unfortunately for this accusation, the plan reduced the liquidation of the offices ten millions, it reduced the national burthen ten millions, and charged the civil list with the interest. A corruption, which turns to the profit of personal interest may be conceived; but a corruption that leaves us all the shame, and to others all the profit, is not to be imagined.

Another imputation has been cast upon Lewis, which, as soon as promulgated, was likely to excite great indignation, and which, with reason appeared to him of a very serious nature. It was a charge, "that he continued to pay all his body guards who were at Coblenz."

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In examining this charge, I hesitate not, Legislators, to declare to you, that it made an afflicting impression on me—I suspected the good faith of Lewis, for the papers appeared to me decisive, But I now acknowledge my error—the defence of Lewis has opened my eyes, and I will now make him full reparation. A single but decisive word will acquit him of the heavy imputation.—

All the papers refer to the month of October 1791—hear, what the administrator of the civil list, writes to its treasurer in the succeeding month of November—

“ Sir, it is the King’s intention to continue to the officers and soldiers of the four companies of his body guards, their former pay till his Majesty has made a final decision ; but his Majesty commands, that the amount of their pay shall not be as formerly, delivered to the Major, and that in future, each individual officer or soldier shall be paid at the Civil List Office, upon giving a receipt, accompanied with a certificate of his living in the kingdom. His Majesty has also ordered me to inform you, that the same rules are to be observed with respect to the ci-devant regiment of French guards, to whom he allows the continuance of their former pay. I give you further notice, Sir, that his Majesty has ordered to be discontinued from the 1st of July last,

last, the payment of all the expences of the body guards, except as before mentioned, their own pay, and the usual allowance for the subsistence of their horses."

It is not necessary, Legislators, for me to make any observations on the above document; you are sensible it fully acquits him of the accusation; yet to what reflections had this circumstance given birth! All the documents, which constituted the fundamental principle of the imputation, have received the greatest possible degree of publicity. Lewis, in consequence, has been reproached throughout Europe; while the only document among his papers, necessary to his justification, has remained in concealment; but an authentic copy of which he at length obtained, after much trouble, from the proper office, and which he has now produced to the eyes of the whole world.

Finally, I arrive at that day of disaster and dismay, the TENTH OF AUGUST—Representatives of the People, I entreat you in this moment, not to consider the advocates of Lewis merely as advocates—we possess the feelings of conscience, we constitute a part of the people, we feel all that they feel, and desire all that they desire; we have wept, and still wept over the events of the 10th of August, and, if we had believed Lewis to be the author of the dreadful disasters

ers of that day, you would not have now seen us at your bar affording him our support.

Legislators, all your successes subsequent to the above day, which you have dignified with the appellation of immortal, should urge you to be generous, but we only ask you to be just. Recollect the day of the preceding 20th June, recollect the refusal of Lewis to comply with the demands of an armed multitude that had invaded his palace, recollect his perseverance in his refusal, though in the utmost personal danger; a perseverance that increased the irritation of the multitude; recollect that fresh prospects of tumults and attacks opened on his mind reports of conspiracies, and plots for carrying him off.

From this period Lewis felt the critical posture of affairs; he saw the current of the public mind, he received daily accounts of the opinions of the capital—he marked the progress of these agitations—he was apprehensive of some error on the part of the multitude—he was alarmed for the safety of his house—he began to adopt some defensive measures—he surrounded himself with the national guards—he stationed the Swiss in his palace—he held a more immediate correspondence with the popular powers; in short, he neglected no precautions which prudence dictated, and which the impending danger



ger made him suppose to be necessary. The 9th of August came; fresh alarms were infused into his mind. Bodies of insurgents and extensive preparations were mentioned, and the night of the 9th was predicted to produce slaughter and dismay. The precautions of Lewis were consequently redoubled; the number of the national guards stationed at the palace was increased; the Swiss placed on guard the different powers summoned. The Department—the Municipal Officers were directed to attend him, together with all those Magistrates whom he conceived to possess an ascendancy over the minds of the People. These Magistrates commanded, in the name of the Laws, the national troops, and the Swiss guards, not to suffer the palace to be forced.

They gave orders, which, in the pressure of the moment, seemed to be necessary. The Mayor himself visited the different posts—Soon, however, did the alarm bell ring, the general beat to arms—the people assemble. Some hours elapsed in agitations that produced no effect—Towards the dawn of the day the people began their march: They directed their career towards the Thuilleries; each was armed; artillery followed them—The cannons were pointed to the gates of the palace—The people arrived there.

The Procureur-General Syndic of the Department of Paris immediately advanced, accompanied

accompanied by the Municipal Officers, and addressed the people. He represented, that, assembled in so large a number, they could neither present a petition to Lewis, nor to the National Assembly; he entreated them to name twenty. These intreaties were ineffectual. In the mean while, the number of the People received a large addition—an immense multitude stationed themselves upon the Place du Caroufal, or Square of the Caroufals in the Thuilleries, so called from the magnificent festival Lewis XIV. gave the Queen and Queen's mother in 1662. The danger increased. The Magistrates, informed of these circumstances, again appeared before the troops. The Procureur-General read the 5th article of the law of the 3d October; he entreated them to defend the palace of the King, whose authority had been constituted by the Laws. He gave with regret orders to repel force by force. The troops replied alone by a general discharge of cannon. The Procureur-General Syndic immediately returned to the palace, informed Lewis of his imminent danger, and that no succour was to be expected. Lewis, who some hours since had sent his Ministers to the National Assembly to solicit the assistance of a deputation, now sent again to inform them of his increasing danger. The National Assembly remained silent as the grave.

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The Procureur-general Syndic, and two other Members of the Department, then proposed to the king to seek an asylum in the bosom of the National Assembly for himself and his family. He felt the necessity of the measure, and he adopted it.

He is accused of having passed the morning in reviewing the troops. The same accusation may be brought against the Mayor. Lewis possessed a legal authority, and had the right of protecting his palace. He had the right of expecting security from the laws; how, therefore, can he be reproached with having taken those precautions that were necessary to procure obedience to the laws? It has been alledged against him as a crime, that he stationed troops in his palace. Was it necessary then that he should tamely permit the people to invade it? that he should submit to their violence? Besides, did not the power, entrusted to him by the Constitution, require that he should suffer no invasion of his trust?

I know that it has been said, that he occasioned the insurrection for the purpose of accomplishing his views. But who at this moment knows not, that, long before the 10th of August, the events of that day were prepared, thought on, and cherished in silence; that the necessity of an insurrection



insurrection against Lewis was supposed to exist, and that the insurrection had its agents, its contrivers, its cabinet, and its directors? Who is ignorant that plans were formed and treaties signed? Who knows not that every thing was conducted, arranged, and executed for the consummation of that great object that was to produce those advantages which France now enjoys? These are facts that cannot be controverted; they are notorious; they resound through the whole nation; they occurred in the midst of you, even in this spot on which I am now standing. - The glory of that 10th of August has been obstinately disputed. I mean not to contest this glory; I mean not to attack the causes of the insurrection; I mean not to attack its effects; I only contend, that, as the insurrection existed long before the 10th of August, it is impossible that Lewis could be the aggressor. You nevertheless accuse him.

You accuse him of the blood shed on that day.

You would have this blood cry out for vengeance against him! What! against him who, in order to prevent this effusion, came himself to the National Assembly! Against him, who, through the whole course of his life, never gave a sanguinary order! Against him, who, on the 6th of October, at Versailles, would, not suffer

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his own guards to protect him ! Against him, who, at Varennes, submitted himself to the situation of a captive, rather than occasion the death of a single man ! Against him, who, on the 20th of June, refused all profered assistance, and remained alone in the middle of his people !

Men of France ! the Revolution which has regenerated you, has developed great virtues ; but take care that it weakens not in your souls the sentiments of humanity, without which, you can only possess the semblance of virtue.

Hear what history will say :

“ Lewis ascended the throne of France only twenty years old ; yet at that early age he afforded an example of the purity of his manners ; no culpable weakness, no corrupt passion were discoverable in him ; economical, severely just, he evinced himself to be the constant friend of the people. The people requested the abolition of a tax that burthened them ; he abolished it. The people intreated the abolition of feudal slavery ; he set the example, by putting an end to it in his own domains. The people solicited a reform in the criminal law, it was reformed. The people wished that thousands of Frenchmen, whom the rigour of custom had till then deprived of those rights belonging to citizens should recover those rights ; he acceded to their wishes. The people asked for Liberty ; he gave it to them.

He

He began by making a sacrifice to the people of his own privileges ; and yet, in the name of this people, it is demanded on this day, that——  
Citizens, I will not finish the sentence——I pause before history herself—Recollect that she will be the judge of your conduct, and that her decision will be the decision of all ages.

(Signed)

LEWIS,  
DESEZE,  
LAMOIGNON-MALESHERBES,  
TRONCHET.”

After his Council had ended, Lewis rose, and, in a firm, but affecting manner, pronounced this short address to the Convention :

“ CITIZENS,

My Council have laid before you my means of defence—Speaking to you, perhaps, for the Last Time, I declare to you, that my conscience reproaches me in nothing, and that my defenders have only spoken to you the truth. I have never been afraid of having my conduct publicly examined ; but my heart is wounded to find, in the act of accusation, the imputation of having desired the shedding of the blood of the people ; and, above all, that the misfortunes of the 10th of August should be attributed to me,

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I own, that the multiplied proofs I have at all times given of my love for the people, and the manner in which I have always conducted myself, appeared to me sufficient to prove, that I feared not to expose myself to spare bloodshed, and to defend me forever from such an imputation."

The President then presented him a note, and begged to be informed whether he knew the hand-writing?

*Lewis.* No.

*Pres.* Do you recollect these five keys?

*Lewis.* I cannot say that I do. I remember some placed at the Feuillans, but I cannot say that these are the same.

*Pres.* Have you any more to say in your defence?

*Lewis.* No.

*Pres.* Sir, you are at liberty to retire.

Lewis attended by his Counsel, retired ; and immediately a compounded burst of passion, prejudice, violence, and reciprocal abuse, among numbers of the Members, broke forth, which totally demolished that order which should characterize a public assembly. The auditors leaped from the galleries, brandishing clinched fists at, and abusing the President, for proposing a question of adjournment, in order that the different Members

bers might take time coolly to digest and deliberate on the defence of Lewis ; and which most just proposal was not carried without the utmost difficulty, against the sanguinary cries of “ INSTANT JUDGEMENT ! ”

Nothing material respecting Lewis took place between 26th December and January 14th, excepting a letter of observation, sent by his advocates to the Convention, in answer to a charge made at the tribune by a Member of the Assembly, but which had not been inserted in the act of accusation.

This charge was founded, “ on the sending of M. Heyman into Prussia for the king’s service.”—In answer, the king’s advocates asserted, that their client took no part in this commission; that it was impossible for him to hinder his brothers from sending agents in his name ; but that, when he was informed of this abuse of it, he denounced it to the National Assembly.

To a second imputation, “ that the King had two sets of Ministers, one: ostensible for the apparent administration, and the other secret for a Counter-revolution,” his advocates answered, that of all the accusations this was the most likely to have admitted traces of evidence, had any foundation of the fact existed ; yet, how came it, that no channel, through which evidence had been so assiduously searched for, nay, not even  
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the ransacking the bureaux of the Thuilleries, which were pretended to have been so fruitful a source of proofs, could afford one single scrap of writing to support the charge.

Monday the 14th arrived that was to determine the fate of Lewis. The hall and galleries were crouded at an early hour, with all who had interest to procure seats, and by those who were sent there by appointment, to support by applause, the Mountain, a practice so notorious to be denied.

Some preliminary business being dispatched, the Convention, about twelve o'clock, passed to the order of the day. The important question, however, was interrupted above two hours, by a debate, on an order (just communicated to the Assembly) which had been issued by the Municipality, for shutting up the Theatres 'till after judgment had taken place on Lewis.

At length the awful business came on, and, after a very long and warm debate, respecting the form, as well as matter of the questions to be determined, it was decreed that they should proceed to the appel nominal on the three subsequent questions :

I. Is Lewis Capet guilty of High Treason, by conspiring against the Liberty and safety of the Nation ?

II.



II. If the Judgment, whatever it be, shall be submitted to the People?

III. What punishment, in case of conviction, shall be inflicted?

From the interruption and debate above-mentioned, it was not 'till Tuesday morning that the appel nominal on the first question was made, the result of which was as follows:

Members called over	-	-	-	745
Absent	-	-	-	25
Restricted themselves to particular obser-				
vations	-	-	-	27
Pronounced Lewis Guilty	-	-	-	693
				<hr/>
				745

The President then pronounced the following declaration:

“ I declare, in the Name of the Convention, that Lewis is Guilty of a Conspiracy against the Liberty of the Nation, and of attempts against the safety of the state.”

Between five and six in the evening, they proceeded to the appel nominal on the second question, which was thus determined:

Against

Against the Appeal to the People	426
For it	283
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Majority	143

The President in consequence pronounced the decree of the Convention :

“ That there should be no appeal to the people.”

Both the above questions were prefaced by several members, in giving their judgment, with short explanatory speeches, but which were too unimportant to be here detailed.—M. Egalite voted, on each question, against his near and unhappy relative; at whom indignation flashed, for his unnatural conduct, from numerous eyes in the assembly. Every principle of delicacy, humanity, and honour, should have induced either his absence, or his declining to vote on the occasion.

It being midnight when the second question was disposed of, the agitation of the third was adjourned till next day, when they proceeded to the appel nominal on the third question—

“ What punishment shall be inflicted on  
“ Lewis Capet ?”

From a previous lengthened debate on a question—What should be considered a majority?  
(and

and determined that one more than half the deputies should constitute a majority, the main question was not brought forward till late in the day, and which continued through the whole of the night—

The awful result was as follows—

Voted for Death without Restrictions	-	340
For Death, under Restrictions	-	26
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Total for Death	-	366
For Imprisonment and Banishment	-	329

The remainder of the members, making the whole Convention to consist of 745, did not vote from absence, illness, and other causes.

By the above statement there was a majority of eleven only for positive or unconditional death, but adding the conditional votes, a majority of 27 for death.

The considerable duration of the appel nominal was owing to the members prefacing their votes with their opinions or motives for giving them, but which were too disgraceful in general to reason, justice, and humanity, to be here detailed.

In consequence of the declaration by the secretaries of the result of the appel nominal, the

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President



President, (Virgniaud), pronounced, amidst the most profound silence, the following sentence—

“ I declare, in the name of the Convention, that the punishment which it pronounces against Lewis Capet—is DEATH.”

The three defenders of Lewis Capet were then admitted to the bar, Deseze, said,

“ Citizens representatives, the law and decrees have entrusted to us the sacred function of the defence of Lewis. We come, with regret, to present you the last act of our function. Lewis has given to us his express charge to read to you a letter signed with his own hand, of which the following is a copy :

#### LETTER FROM LEWIS.

“ I owe to my own honour, I owe to my family, not to subscribe to a sentence which declares me guilty of a crime with which I cannot accuse myself. In consequence, I appeal to the nation from the sentence of its representatives ; and I commit, by these presents, to the fidelity of my defenders, to make known to the National Convention this appeal by all the means in their

their power, and to demand that mention of it be made in the minutes of their sittings.

“ Given at Paris the 16th January 1793.

(Signed) LEWIS.”

Deseze then resumed his speech. He reminded the Assembly that the decree of death had only been pronounced by a majority of five voices, while the other part of the Assembly were of opinion that the safety of the country required another decision. He warmly conjured them to examine anew the question of appeal, and to grant to humanity, to the interest of the state, all that justice might not seem imperiously to claim.

Tronchet, another of the defenders of Lewis, protested against the decree, by which the Assembly had declared that the sentence should be passed, like its other decrees, by an absolute majority. He demanded the repeal of the decree; that as the penal code had served as the basis of the opinion of those who had pronounced the punishment of death, the Assembly ought, conformably to that code, not to pronounce the punishment except by two-thirds of the voices.

Lamoignon Maleherbes, the third Counsel of Lewis, begged the Convention to allow him till to-morrow to present some observations on the kind of majority which to him seemed necessary before sentence should have been pronounced.

He

He regretted that he could not speak extempore with sufficient facility to enable him to explain his ideas.

The President informed the Counsel, that the Convention would take their requests into consideration, and invited them to the honours of the sitting.

M. Merlin of Douay, refuted the objection made by Tronchet, by saying that the penal code required a majority of two-thirds, not for the application of punishment, but for the declaration of facts; and that the law, in regard to punishment, required only an absolute majority,

On a motion made by Robespierre, the Convention then decreed,

I. That the appeal interposed by Lewis Capet is null, being contrary to the rights of the People, and to the power of national representation; and that all Citizens are forbidden to support this appeal, under pain of being punished as disturbers of the public tranquillity.

II. That there are no grounds for attending to the remonstrances of the Counsel of Lewis, in regard to the nature of the majority which passed sentence upon him.

The discussion of the question, Whether it would be proper to suspend the execution of the sentence passed against Lewis Capet? was adjourned to next day.

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The Convention rose at eleven at night, after a sitting which continued thirty-six hours.

On Friday, January 18. some Members complained that, the preceding day, their votes had not been correctly taken, they having voted for the death of the King, and not otherwise, as stated in the lists of the appel nominal. One of the Secretaries, therefore, read over the names of the Deputies, and the words in which each of them delivered his vote and opinion. Several Members, when their names were called over, gave explanations of the meaning of the expressions they employed in delivering their vote; but most of them were unfavourable to the accused. A long discussion ensued, the result of which was, that they should adjourn till the next day, when the revision of the appel nominal should be declared, and a fourth question should be discussed, namely, Whether the execution of the sentence should be delayed?

On Saturday, January 19. the first object of discussion was the question, "Whether the sentence passed against Lewis Capet should be delayed?"

From the numerous sentiments offered by different Members on this question, we shall only select those of a man, whose opinions on political subjects, have excited much discussion in this country; we mean Mr. Thomas Paine, who appeared

appeared at the tribune, and as he was unacquainted with the French language, M. Bancal read a translation of his opinion, the substance of which was as follows: "I prefer an error occasioned by humanity, to an error occasioned by severity. You have no other ally than the United States of America. Lewis has been the best friend of these People, who consider themselves as indebted to him for their liberty. Were I acquainted with the French language, I should have appeared at your bar, and presented to you, in the name of my American brethren, a petition for a respite. The news of this execution will give great pain to those sons of Freedom. You ought not to adopt such rigorous measures. Lewis Capet has doubtless betrayed the French nation; but the mischief he has done has been the effect of prejudice, and of his condition. Had he been the son of a farmer, I am certain that he would not have been a bad man. He has been brought into his present melancholy situation, not so much by his own fault, as by that of the Constituent Assembly. I demand then that Lewis be banished with all his family to the American states."

The discussion being closed, the Convention proceeded to the appel nominal on the question, Whether the execution of the sentence passed against Lewis Capet should be delayed?

Several

Several Members wished that the term of the delay to be voted upon should be first decided.

Legendre observed, that the first question should certainly be, whether there ought to be any delay, and that the Convention could afterwards easily fix the term.

Some Members, when they voted, wished to assign their reasons, but this was opposed by the Convention, and the Members were permitted to pronounce only Yes or No.

When the appel nominal was terminated, the President announced, that, after calling over the votes upon the question, What punishment should be inflicted on Lewis? and after the explanations given by several who had voted for death with restrictions, it was found that the sentence of death pronounced yesterday upon Lewis had been carried by a majority, not of five, but of twenty-seven votes.

The President then declared the result of the appel nominal on the question, Whether the execution of the sentence should be delayed?

Of 748 Members, 17 were absent by commission, 21 from sickness, 8 without any assigned reason, 12 did not vote, 310 voted for delaying the execution of the sentence, and 348 against delaying it.

The Convention rose at two in the morning, after having decreed as follows :

I. The



I. The Executive Council shall be immediately summoned, and a copy of the decree which pronounces sentence of death against Lewis, delivered to them.

II. The Executive Council shall be charged to notify this decree to Lewis in the course of the day; to cause it to be executed within twenty-four hours after it has been notified to him; to take every measure of safety and police, which to them shall appear necessary during the execution; to be careful that no insult be offered to the remains of Lewis; and to give an account of their diligence to the National Convention.

III. The Mayor and Municipal Officers of Paris shall be enjoined to suffer Lewis to communicate freely with his family, and to have with him such priests as he may desire in his last moments.

On the following day, Sunday, January 20. The Minister of Justice desired to be heard and said,

“ The Executive Council met this morning for the execution of your decree, summoned to attend the Commissioners of the directory of the department, the Mayor, the Commandant General, the Public Accuser, and the President of the criminal tribunal of the department of Paris. After having concerted some measures with them, the Minister of Justice, the President of the  
the

the council, another Member, and the Secretary of the council, accompanied by two Members of the department, and the Mayor, repaired at two o'clock precisely to the apartment of Lewis. As President of the council, I said to him—"Lewis, the Executive Council has been charged to notify to you an extract of the minutes of the sittings of the National Convention, of the 12th, 17th, 19th, and 20th of January." The Secretary of the council read the extract to him.

"Lewis replied to us nearly to the same effect as the contents of a paper which he drew from a port-folio, and delivered to us. I answered, that the Members of the council then present would withdraw to deliberate on his demands; and not being able to come to any resolutions by ourselves, we returned to lay them before the council, who, after hearing them read, resolved that they should be communicated to you. They are as follows:

"I demand a delay of three days, that I may be able to prepare myself for appearing before God. I demand, for this purpose, to be permitted to see freely the person whom I shall point out to the Commissioners of the Commons; that this person may be secure from fear and from all uneasiness, for the act of charity which he shall perform to me.

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" I demand to be delivered from the perpetual inspection which the council general has established for some days past.

" I demand, during this interval, leave to see my family when I shall desire it, and without witnesses. I could wish that the National Convention would consider with all speed the lot of my family, and permit them to retire freely and conveniently wherever the Convention shall think proper.

" I recommend to the benevolence of the nation all the persons who were attached to me; there are many of them who expended their whole fortune on their situations, and who, having no longer any appointment, must be in necessity, and even some of them who had no means of living but their appointments. Among the pensioners are many aged persons, women, and children, who had no other means of subsistence.

(Signed)

" LEWIS.

" At the Tower of the Temple, Jan. 1793."

" As we were retiring, (added the minister), he delivered a note to one of the commissioners of the commons, in a hand-writing different from his own, containing the name of this man of charity; it is Mr Edgeworth, or de Fermon, No. 483, Rue du Bacq."

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The Convention decreed, that Lewis should be allowed to call whatever minister of religion he might think proper, and to see his family without witnesses.

They authorised the executive council to inform him, that the nation, always great and always just, would attend to the lot of his family.

Respecting the demand made in favour of those who depended on him for their subsistence, the Convention passed to the order of the day, because such persons had a right to appear, and to request payment, or some other indemnity, if debts are due to them.

The Convention passed also to the order of the day, on the demand made by Lewis that the execution of the sentence might be delayed three days.

For the execution of Lewis XVI. the executive council, in obedience to a decree of the Convention, made the following arrangement, which was strictly observed :

*Extract from the Registers of the Provisional Executive Council.*

“ Jan. 20, Second Year of the Republic.

“ The provisional executive council, deliberating on the measures to be taken for the execution of the decree of the National Convention  
of

of the 15th, 17th, 19th, and 20th of January 1793, resolves the following regulations :

“ I. The execution of the sentence of Lewis Capet shall take place to-morrow Monday, Jan. 21.

“ II. The place of execution shall be La Place de la Revolution ci-devant Lewis XV. between the Pedestal and the Champs Elysees.

“ III. Lewis Capet shall set out from the Temple at eight o'clock in the morning, so that the execution may take place at noon.

“ IV. The commissioners of the department of Paris, the commissioners of the municipality, and two members of the criminal tribunal, shall assist at the execution, the secretary register of the tribunal shall draw up a minute of it, and the said commissioners, and members of the tribunal, as soon as the execution is over, shall come to give an account of it to the council, who shall continue in a state of permanent sitting during the whole day.

“ By the Provisional Executive Council,

“ ROLAND, CLAVIERE, MONGE, LE  
BRUN, GARAT, PACHE.”

On the 21st of January, the following report upon the death of Lewis XVIth was made to the commons :

Jacques

Jacques Roux, priest and preacher of the Sans Culottes, one of the commissioners named by the commons to assist at the execution of Lewis, said :

“ We come to give you an account of the mission with which we were charged. We went to the Temple, where we announced to the tyrant that the hour of his execution was arrived.

“ He desired some minutes alone with his confessor. He wanted to give us a parcel for you ; but we observed, ‘ we were only charged to conduct him to the scaffold.’ He answered, ‘ That is true ;’ and gave the packet to one of our colleagues. He recommended his family ; and requested that Clery, his Valet-de-Chambre, should be that of the Queen, and then hastily said, of his wife. He further requested, that his old servants at Versailles should not be forgotten. He said to Santerre, ‘ Marchons, let us go on ;’ he walked through one court, and got into the carriage in the second. The most perfect silence reigned during the whole procession. Nothing happened. We went up into the offices of the marine, to prepare the proces-verbal. We never lost sight of Capet till we arrived at the Guillotine. He arrived there at ten minutes after ten ; he was three minutes getting out of the carriage ; he wished to harangue the



the people ; Santerre opposed it. His head was severed from his body. The citizens dipped their pikes and handkerchiefs in his blood.

“ After the drawing out of the proces-verbal, we went to the provisional executive council, who were busy in inquiring into the assassination of St Fargeau.”

Santerre. “ You have heard an exact account of all that passed. Lewis Capet wanted to speak of mercy to the people, but I would not let him.”

Thus far the official report :

It is proper, however, that we should be more circumstantial in our account of this most extraordinary event :

An hour after Lewis had been informed of the fatal doom, two Municipal Officers repaired to the Queen's apartment, to signify what was to happen. The Queen advanced towards the Officers, with her hands uplifted, and cried, “ O ye murderers ! O ye murderers ! ” then in hysteric fits dropped on the floor : Having recovered herself, she looked with a wild, yet significant eye at the Officers, who stood in a distant corner of the room ; then turning round to the Dauphin she shed a flood of tears, embraced him, and exclaimed, “ My dear son, I do not know what I am doing, let us never confound the innocent with the guilty.”

Soon

Soon after, the Queen, Madame Elizabeth (the King's sister), and the Dauphin, were conducted to the King's dining-room, where the unfortunate Monarch embraced them with great serenity: The Officers withdrew, and a scene ensued of tenderness and grief, which baffles description.

Two hours after, the Municipals were called in, and the King expressed a desire of seeing his Daughter, who was in a separate apartment. His demand was granted, and he and his family, under a proper escort, went to the spot: Her Royal Father embraced her; she clung to him; he bedewed her with tears; she was wrested from him, and remained insensible for some time, when she exclaimed, "O my Father! O my tender Father!" Paternal heroism made the King depart from his beloved Daughter. Maternal feeling retained the Queen and her sister-in-law with the Dauphin, who said to Lewis, "We will see you by and bye—Adieu Husband!—Adieu Brother!—Adieu Father!"—The King waisted a kiss to them with his right hand; but they saw him no more!—Arrived in his room, the Monarch prostrated himself, and said prayers with his Confessor Edgeworth, an English priest, otherwise called De Fermond, for an hour and upwards, after which he had his beard

beard shaved, and his hair turned up in a curl from behind, without powder.

In a previous decree made by the National Convention, the place for putting the sentence into execution was to have been the Caroufal, fronting the palace of the Thuilleries. This was changed by the Ministers, to whom all the arrangements were confided, to the Square of the Revolution, heretofore that of Lewis XV. The Guillotine was placed upon a scaffold, between the Champs Elysees and the Pedestal, which was formerly ornamented with the magnificent equestrian statue of Lewis XV. his Grandfather.

On Monday morning, the 21st instant, the King left the Temple. The procession set out a little after eight o'clock. The King sat in the Mayor's carriage, with his Confessor by his side, praying very fervently, and two Captains of the National Light-horse on the front seat. The carriage was drawn by two black horses, preceded by the Mayor, General Santerre, and other Municipal Officers. One squadron of horse, with trumpeters and kettle drums, led the van of the melancholy convoy; three heavy pieces of ordnance, with proper implements, and cannoneers with lighted matches, went before the vehicle, which was escorted on both sides by a treble line of troopers.

The



The train moved on with a slow pace from the Temple to the Boulevards, which were planted with cannon, and beset with national guards, drums beating, trumpets sounding, and colours flying. The trotting and neighing of horses, the shrill sound of the trumpet, and the continual beating of drums, heightened the terrors of the awful scene.

The scaffold was high and conspicuous, and the houses surrounding the place of execution were full of women, who looked through the windows : The very slates which covered the roofs were raised up for the curious and interested to peep through.

At twenty minutes after ten, the King arrived before the scaffold in the Square of the Revolution, which was covered with cannon, and crowded with cavalry. His Confessor, Mr Edgeworth, wanted to go up the steps of the scaffold with him, but this was refused by Gen. Santerre. Lewis pulled off his stock, coat, and waistcoat, and, with his neck and breast bare, ascended the scaffold with intrepidity and undaunted fortitude ; (it was twenty minutes after ten o'clock) ; he wore a clean shirt and stock, white waistcoat, black florentine silk breeches, black silk stockings, and his shoes were tied with black silk strings.

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Having taken leave of his confessor, who shed a thousand tears, he beckoned with his hand to be heard; the noise of the warlike instruments ceased for a moment; but soon after a thousand voices vociferated, "No harangues!—No harangues!" The unfortunate Monarch wrung his hands, lifted them up towards heaven, and with agony in his eye and gesture, exclaimed, distinctly enough to be heard by those persons who were next the scaffold, "To thee, O God, I commend my soul!—I forgive all my enemies—I die innocent!" His head was immediately after severed from his body\*; the people waved their hats in the air, exclaiming, "God save the nation!" and the body was immediately removed in a black coffin.

From

\* The following is a description of the machine by which the King suffered, and which takes its name of **GUILLOTINE** from that of the person who brought it into use:

It is in form of a painter's easel, and about ten feet high. At four feet from the bottom is a cross bar, on which the sufferer lays his head, which is kept down by another bar placed above. In the inner edges of the frame are grooves, in which is placed a sharp axe, with a vast weight of lead, supported at the summit by a peg, to which is fastened a cord, which the executioner cutting, the axe falls, and beheads the prisoner. The sufferer is first tied to a plank of about eighteen inches broad, and an inch thick, standing upright, fastened with

From the time when he first appeared on the scaffold, till the fatal blow, not five minutes elapsed ! instantly the executioner lifted up the head, and amidst the flourish of trumpets exclaimed, " Thus dies a Traitor !" Some of the guards pushed forward to the scaffold, dipped their pikes and their handkerchiefs in the blood, brandished their swords, and vociferated — " God save the Republic ! God save the Nation !" *pronounced loudly and distinctly*

The body was interred six hours after, in the church-yard De la Magdelaine, adjacent to the place of execution, in a grave twelve feet deep, and filled with quick lime and mould ; between the people who were stifled in the throng on the 19th of April 1770, (when a brilliant illumination and fire-work were exhibited there in honour of his marriage), and the Swiss and other victims slain at the Thuilleries on the 10th of August 1792.

Thus  
cords about the arms, belly, and legs ; this plank is about four feet long, and comes almost up to the chin ; the executioner then lays him on his belly on the bench, lifts up the upper part of the board, which receives his neck, adjusts his head, then shuts the board, and pulls the string fastened to the peg at the top of the machine, which lifts up a catch : The axe falls down, and the head, which is off in a moment, is received in a basket ready for the purpose, as is the body in another basket.  
*See the Plate.*



Thus perished Lewis XVI. the thirty-second sovereign of France, from Hugh Capet, founder of the late dynasty, and the fourth in descent from Henry the Great, the first king of the branch of Bourbon. He was born August 23, 1754; married May 16, 1770, to Maria Antonietta, aunt to the present emperor of Germany; succeeded his grandfather May 10, 1774; was suspended from the Royal authority August 10, 1792; pronounced guilty of a conspiracy against the state, January 15, 1793, and executed on the 21st of the same month.

To the justice of the following sentiments we readily subscribe, considering them as equally free from prejudice on the one hand, as from partiality on the other :

“ Sincere and upright in principle, gentle and benign in disposition, this unhappy prince was placed, by a train of irresistible circumstances, in a situation, in which the most consummate wisdom and virtue could not act with perfect rectitude; nor could even the most perfect rectitude have prevented the fatal effects of jealousy and suspicion. Perhaps Europe is in a state too agitated to judge impartially between him and the severe tribunal that condemned him; a tribunal, rigid to an extreme, when mercy urged her powerful and persuasive claims, but content to relax that rigour, when the question

tion was to dispense with an adherence to those forms of law, which, on the trial of the meanest and most profligate criminal, would have been deemed indispensable. But their judgment will undergo the severe revision of posterity; nor can it pass unobserved by the Supreme Governor of the Universe, all whose ways are just and righteous, although inscrutable by his finite creatures."

THE following is a copy of the LAST WILL and TESTAMENT of LEWIS XVI. Written by himself. Read in the sitting of the Commons, Jan. 13,

[*LITERALLY translated from a copy received as genuine by the Commons, and certified by a Municipal Officer to have been collated with the original.*]

" IN the name of the Most Holy Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, this day, the 21st of December 1792, I, Lewis, the XVIth of the name, King of France, having been for more than four months imprisoned with my family in the Tower of the Temple at  
Paris,

Paris, by those who were my subjects, and deprived of all communication whatsoever, ever since the 11th instant, with my own family; moreover, being implicated in a trial of which it is impossible to foresee the issue, on account of the passions of men, and for which no pretext or means can be found by any existing law; having only God for the witness of my thoughts, and to whom I can address myself, I here declare in his presence my last will and sentiments.

“ I leave my soul to God my Creator; I pray him to receive it in mercy, and not to judge it according to its deserts, but according to those of our Lord Jesus Christ, who offered himself in sacrifice to God his Father for us men, however unworthy, and for me the most unworthy. I die in the union of our mother, the Catholic, Apostolic, and Romish church, who holds her powers by an uninterrupted succession from St Peter, to whom Jesus Christ entrusted them. I firmly believe and acknowledge every thing contained in the commandments of God and the church, the sacraments and mysteries, such as the church teaches, and hath always taught them; I have never pretended to make myself a judge of the different modes of explaining the dogmas which divide the Church of Jesus Christ, but I have conformed, and will always conform, if God grant me life, to the decisions which the  
higher



higher ecclesiastics of the Holy Catholic Church give and shall give, conformably to the discipline of the Church followed since Jesus Christ. I lament, with all my heart, our brethren who may be in error, but I pretend not to judge them, and I love them no less in Jesus Christ, according to what Christian charity teaches us. I pray God to pardon me all my sins; I have endeavoured to know them scrupulously, to detest them, and to humble myself in his presence. Not being able to avail myself of the ministry of a Catholic priest, I pray God to receive the confession which I have made, and above all my profound repentance for having put my name, though it was against my will, to acts which may be contrary to the discipline and belief of the Catholic Church, to which I have always remained sincerely united in heart; I pray God to accept of my firm resolution, if he grant me life, to make use as soon as I can of the Ministry of a Catholic priest to confess myself of all my sins, and to receive the sacrament of repentance. I request all those whom I may have offended through inadvertence, for I do not recollect having knowingly offended any one, or those to whom I may have given bad example or scandal, to forgive the evil which they think I have done them.

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“ I entreat all charitable persons to join their prayers with mine, to obtain of God the pardon of my sins.

“ I forgive with all my heart those who have made themselves my enemies without my having given them any cause; and I pray God to forgive them, as well as those who, through a false or mistaken zeal, have done me much evil.

“ I recommend to God my wife, my children, my sister, my aunts, my brothers, and all those who are attached to me by the ties of blood, or in any other manner whatsoever. I pray God particularly to look with the eyes of mercy on my wife, my children, and my sister, who have long been the partners of my sufferings; to sustain them by His Grace, if they should lose me; and as long as they shall remain in this perishable world. I recommend my children to my wife; I have never doubted her maternal tenderness for them. I recommend to her above all to make them good Christians, and honest members of society; to make them consider the grandeurs of this world, if they are condemned to prove them, but as things dangerous and perishable, and to turn their views towards the only and solid glory of eternity. I request my sister to continue her tenderness to my children, and to be a mother  
to

to them if they should have the misfortune to lose their own.

“ I entreat my wife to forgive me all the evils that she suffers on my account, and the uneasiness which I may have caused her in the course of our union; as she may be assured, that I remember nothing against her, if she thinks she has any thing to reproach herself with.

“ I earnestly recommend to my children, next to their duty to God, which they ought to prefer to every thing; to maintain mutual union, submission, and obedience to their mother, and gratitude for all the cares which she incurs for them, and in memory of me.

“ I entreat them to consider my sister as a second mother. I recommend to my son, if he should ever have the misfortune to become King, to think that he owes himself entirely to the good of his fellow-citizens; that he ought to forget all hatred and all resentment, and especially whatever relates to the misfortunes and uneasiness which I experience; that he cannot promote the good of the people, but by reigning according to the Laws; but, at the same time, that a King cannot make the Laws respected, and do the good he wishes, but in proportion as he has the necessary authority; and that

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without this, being fettered in his operations, and inspiring no respect, he is more injurious than useful. I recommend to my son to take care of all the persons who were attached to me, as far as his circumstances shall give him the means; to think that this is a sacred debt which I have contracted to the children or relations of those who have died for me, and next, to those who are unfortunate on my account. I know that there are many of those who were attached to me, who have not conducted themselves towards me as they ought, and who have even shewn me ingratitude; but I forgive them, (often in the moments of trouble and effervescence, a man is not master of himself); and I entreat my son, if he should have the opportunity, to remember only their misfortunes. I could wish to be able to testify my gratitude to those who have displayed a true and disinterested attachment to me. On the one hand, if I was sensibly affected by the ingratitude and disloyalty of persons to whom I had never shewn any thing but favours to them, their relations, or friends; on the other, I have had the consolation of seeing the gratuitous attachment and interest which many persons have shewn to me; I entreat them to accept my thanks; in the situa-  
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tion in which things still are, I should be afraid of bringing them into danger, if I were to speak more explicitly ; but I recommend particularly to my son to seek all occasions of discovering and acknowledging them.

“ I should, nevertheless, think that I calumniated the sentiments of the nation, did I not openly recommend to my son, M. M. de Chamilly and Hue, whom their true attachment to me, induced to shut themselves up with me in this mournful residence, and who were near being the unhappy victims of what they did. I also recommend to him Cleri, with whose attention I have had every reason to be satisfied since he has been with me. As it is he who has remained with me till the last, I request M. M. of the Commune, to deliver to him my cloaths, my books, my watch, my purse, and the other little effects which have been deposited at the council of the Commons.

“ I also most willingly forgive those who guarded me, the ill treatment and severity which they thought it their duty to make me suffer. I have found some feeling and compassionate souls ; may they enjoy the tranquillity of heart which ought to spring from their manner of thinking.

I entreat

I entreat M. M. de Maleherbes, Tronchet, and Deseze, to receive here my thanks; and the expression of my sensibility, for all the care and pains which they took for me.

"I conclude, by declaring before God, and ready to appear before him, that I reproach myself with none of the crimes which are alledged against me.

"Done in duplicate at the Tower of the Temple, December 25. 1792. (Signed) LEWIS."

(A true copy.) Baudrais, Municipal Officer.





